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THE

COURSE OF HANNIBAL

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OVER

THE ALPS

ASCERTAINED.

BY

JOHN WHITAKER, B.D.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE

COURSE OF HANNIBAL.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

—I.—

HAVING now placed Hannibal in defiance of all oppoſition, triumphant on the plain of Great St. Bernard, and by the temple of the god Peninus, on the only travelled Alps of the time; I proceed to ſhew the ſtate of its inhabitants, and to detail the operations of Hannibal upon it.

By this track up the northern ſide of the Alps, along which I have carried Hannibal and the Gauls to the top, theſe Alps were not only traverſed but peopled. There was equally no road over them, and no inhabitant upon them, about four hundred years before Hannibal. "In the reign of the Elder "Tarquin at Rome," ſays Livy in that memorable paſſage, which firſt ſhows the Alps to our eyes in the perſpective of hiſtory; Belloveſus marched to theſe Alps, and ſearched for an avenue through

them into Italy. Theſe "indeed I wonder not," adds Livy, as I muſt again repeat from him, "to "have been" then "conſidered as unſurmountable, "when (according to *the ſettled tradition*, unleſs we "chuſe to credit the fables concerning Hercules) "THEY HAD NEVER YET BEEN SURMOUNTED BY "THE FOOT OF TRAVELLERS [a]." This forms a very ſtriking æra, in the hiſtory of theſe Alps; when they lifted their bróad backs into the ſky, un-aſcended by the feet of man, ~~un-aſcendible~~ in the imaginations of man, a ſteep and lofty ridge of thickets, a region of ſolitude, ſilence, and ſhadows; for miles up the mountains, formidable to the eye from the very ſolemnity of their vaſt woods, and carrying a chill of terrour to the ſoul, from the very vacuity of human life within them.

Such was this range of mountains at that period, "according to the ſettled tradition" of Livy's days, "unleſs we chuſe to credit the fables of Hercules!" Theſe "fables" gave an earlier date, to the firſt paſſage over the Alps, and to the firſt population upon them; referring both to another point of the mountains, by repreſenting Hercules to have left a number of his followers upon *Little* St. Bernard, and to have gained it the appellation of the Graian Hill,

[a] Livy v. 34. "Priſco Tarquinio Romæ regnante," and "quas "in-exſuperabiles viſas haud equidem miror, ſullâ dum viâ (quod "quidem continens memoria ſit, niſi de Hercule fabulis credere "libet) ſuperatas."

from

from the Græcians thus ſettled upon it [b]. But this "fable" was in all probability derived, from the general tradition of Hercules's paſſage out of Italy into Gaule and Spain; and from the accidental coincidence of the Celtick name of this hill in ſound, with the name of the Graii or Græcians under him. We know from the teſtimony of Livy before, that the hill actually bore the appellation of CRE-MO; one very ſimilar to that of our *Gram*-pian mountains, certainly Celtick therefore, and moſt probably the origin of the other [c]. We have already ſeen a ſimilar coincidence;

[b] Pliny iii. 20.

[c] Livy xxi. 38. "Coelius per Cremonis Jugum dicit tranſiſſe." Even when hiſtory makes us *generally* right in etymology, it is difficult to *ſhow* that rightneſs in particular inſtances. But ſince the hills would naturally be named, becauſe they were ſeen, *before* they were inhabited, as our Albion evidently was; I ſuppoſe the word in Celtick, which gave birth to the name of "Graiæ Alpes," to be this. Crûg (Welch) a hillock, a heap, a rick, Cryg (W) a mount, Grwg (W) heath or ling, and Craig (W) a rock, a crag; Crucach (Iriſh) a heap, Cruach (I) a rick, Carrig, Craig (I) a rock, Creaghaeh and Creagmhar (I) rocky; "Cruc Ochident," "i. e. Cumulus *Occidentalis*" (Nennius xxiii. Gale. and notes), for the promontory of *Uſhant*; Cruguel (Corniſh and Armorick) a hillock, Crechen (C and A) a little mount, Grug (C) a mount, Gryg (C) a heath, and Grachel (C) a heap: are all derived from Crech (C) and Krech (A) high. This very word, pronounced *Grach* and *Gray*, as Grech (I) is to this day pronounced in our *Grey*-hound, and as *Martignac*, the name of the town from which we have aſcended the Alps, is always pronounced and frequently written *Martigny*, would give appellation to the *Graian* hills; as when pronounced *Gram*, like Cragmhar above, it would denominate the ſame hills *Crem-o*, and our Britiſh hills *Gram-pian*.

coincidence, molding the name of the "Peninæ Alpes" ſucceſſively, into Pœninæ and Pœnæ; and then adduced as an evidence of a fact, to which it had no relation. But we even ſee this very principle applied to Hercules, in this very manner, at another point of the Alps. "The Lepontii," ſays Pliny, "are thought by Cato to be of the race of "the Taurici; *almoſt every one elſe believes* from *an in-* "*terpretation of their name* as a *Greek* one, that they "were men *left* by the army of Hercules, becauſe "their limbs had been benumbed with the ſnow, in "paſſing the Alps; that the *Graii* too were *of the* "*ſame origin*, ſettled, as he paſſed, in habitations "upon the Graian Alps; and that the *Euganei* were "*of the ſame*, men *well-deſcended*, and *therefore* called "Euganei[d]." Theſe are three caſes exactly the ſame;

A valley extending along the Iſere, in the Alps that lead one way up to the Graian hills, and forming a conſiderable diſtrict of which the capital is Grenoble, is denominated *Graiſi*-vaudan at preſent; juſt as a vale on the other ſide of theſe Graian hills, is equally denominated Val *Grif*-anche (map to Sauffure, vol. iii. and Sauſſure ii. 343); as a hill to the eaſt of Great St. Bernard is called *Gries* or *Grias*, to this day (Simler 43 and Coxe iii. 312); and as another, much more to the eaſt, is denominated Mount *Gray* (Simler 268).

The inhabitants of theſe Graian hills were plainly acknowledged for Celtæ, by their Celtick neighbours; as they were diſtinguiſhed in an additional part of their name, by an appellation indubitably Celtick. They were, as we have ſeen before, denominated *Graioceli*; and *Graï ochel* is juſt the ſame, as the name of the *Ochel Hills* in Scotland.

[d] Pliny iii. 20. "Lepontios—Tauricæ gentis—Cato arbitratur. "Cæteri fere Lepontios relictos ex comitatu Herculis, interpreta- "tione

ſame; and all the three origins are derived from the ſame ſource, the ſportiveneſs of ignorance in the fields of hiſtory. But ignorance deſtroyed its own work at once, by the precipitation of its folly. It aſſigned, and with a near equipoiſe of abſurdity for each, no leſs than *three* different courſes over the Alps to Hercules. It carried him over the more eaſterly Alps, becauſe it found there the Euganei; a national appellation, that ſounded like a word in Greek. But when once the balloon is let looſe in air, and the imagination is riding the clouds in etymology; if there is no ſteerage of hiſtory to conduct us, we may be driven we know not where. Accordingly thoſe Romans, who went up in the balloon of etymology before the days of Pliny, lighted upon two other parts of the Alps, and there found equal proofs of Hercules's paſſage over them. As they flew thence toward the weſt, and approached Great St. Bernard, they found the Lepontii; a denomination, which tinkled to the ear like another word in Greek, and was therefore made an evidence of Hercules's paſſage over that part of the Alps alſo. Then the balloon ſailing above the Pennine Alps, becauſe this name would not chime with any word in Greek; it anchored once more upon the Graian becauſe the name of this would, and affirmed Hercules to have

"tione Græci nominis, credunt, præuſtis in tranſitu Alpium nive "membris; ejuſdem et Graios fuiſſe, poſitos in tranſitu, Graiarum "Alpium incolas, præſanteſque genere Euganeos, inde tracto no-"mine."

gone acroſs the Little St. Bernard too. It thus renders Hercules, like his antagoniſt Geryon, a being with three bodies; and ſo gives a ſeparate paſſage through the Alps, to each of them. But, not content with all this frippery of folly, it even added another paſſage to all the reſt. "The *firſt* road" over the Alps, ſays Marcellinus, "Theban Hercules "formed"—where?—at the Graian, at the Leponţian, or at the Euganean Alps?—at none of them, but "near the *Maritime* Alps; when he marched "ſlowly *to* the attack of Geryon" in *Spain*, "as is "ſaid, and *towards* the capital of the Tauriſci" in—*Dalmatia*; "and gave *theſe Alps* their name: he *ſimi-* "*larly conſecrated the fortreſs and port* of *Monaco*, "as an eternal memorial of himſelf," by fixing upon it the name of *Hercules Monœcus*[e]. Such a running reduplication of the name of Hercules, does this babbling echo of etymology make; beating the ſound backwards and forwards along the ſides of the Alps, and throwing it by reverberations from one end of the mountains to another! The whole indeed is a mere babble, ſounds without ſenſe, and lo-

[e] Marcellinus xv. 10. p. 109. "Primam [viam] Thebæus "Hercules ad Geryonem extinguendum, ut relatum eſt, et Tau- "riſcum, leniùs gradiens, prope Maritimas compoſuit Alpes; "hicque harum indidit nomen: Monœci ſimiliter arcem et por- "tum ad perennem ſui memoriam conſecravit." What explains this, is a Maritime *Iter* in Bertius 33, running from Genoa towards Nice; "Ab Albintimilio *Herculem Monœci portûs*, m. p. xvi. Ab "*Hercule Monœci portûs* Aviſionem, m. p. xvi."

quacity

quacity without ſignificance. Even was the ſyſtem as judicious as it is ſilly, as manly as it is infantine; the very contradictorineſs of parts to parts would deſtroy it all.

At the period of Belloveſus's irruption into Italy then, and about ſix hundred years before the Chriſtian æra, the Alps appear to have been totally un-inhabited. But a road over them being explored by Belloveſus, colonization would ſoon take place upon them. Another irruption of Gauls into Italy by this grand trunk of communication, happened very ſoon afterwards, and in the very life of Belloveſus himſelf. A third, a fourth, and a fifth ſucceeded. The inhabitants of the valley at the mouth of this trunk, as they ſaw Belleveſus, Elitovius, and others, conduct armies of their countrymen up it, and heard of their ſafe marches along it to the rich plains of Italy beyond, would of courſe be ſtretching their poſſeſſions up the hills more and more, towards Great St. Bernard and the Po, in the very line by which the others had moved towards Italy. They would thus be in the way of all future emigrants and of all future travellers, paſſing from the one country to the other; and thus would the road over the Alps, from Martigny to Great St. Bernard and the Po, along the beneficial current of the Drance, be the firſt part of theſe mountains that was inhabited, and ſo form a girdle of population around the body of them.

This reaſoning, though reſting upon ground ſufficiently hiſtorical and firm, and needing little the aid of collateral evidence, has it however in the very denomination of theſe Alpine inhabitants.

I have already ſhewn the Gauls of Vienne, Lyons, and of all the Rhone to Geneva, to have been included in the general appellation of ALLOBROGES. But Polybius ſhews the name to have extended equally, over the Nantuates, the Veragri, and the Seduni. Hannibal, he ſays, having marched ten days along the Rhone, "began the aſcent of the Alps, and "happened to fall into the greateſt dangers: for, "while they were in the plains, all the leaders of the "ALLOBRIGES on their ſides kept off, partly fearing "the cavalry, and partly the Gauls who eſcorted "them; but when theſe returned home, and Han-"nibal's men began to advance into the defiles, then "the leaders of the ALLOBRIGES, having collected a "large body of men, ſeized the convenient poſts, by "which Hannibal's men muſt neceſſarily paſs in "their aſcent[f]." But Hannibal, as Polybius tells us afterward, having taken poſſeſſion of the hill within the paſs, and having thence come down to attack

[f] Polybius iii. 50. Ηξαλο της προς τας Αλπεις αναβολης, και συνεβη μεγιςοις αυλον περιπεσειν κινδυνοις. Εως μεν γαρ εν τοις επιπεδοις ησαν, απειχοντο παντες αυλων οι καλα μερος ηγεμονες των Αλλοβριγων· τα μεν της ἱππεις δεδιοτες, τα δε της παραπεμπουσης Βαρβαρης. Επειδη δ' εκεινοι μεν εις την οικειαν απηλλαγησαν, οι δε περι τον Αννιβαν ηξαλο προαγειν εις τας

attack the mountaineers, "killed the greateſt part of "the ALLOBRIGES, and forced the reſt to turn and "fly to their homes[g]." We thus ſee the Gauls of France to have ſpread along the Rhone, under the name of the Allobroges, from the mouth nearly to the fountain of that river, a long and curving *cordon* of nations under the ſame appellation; to have entered the Alps near the fountain, to have mounted up the hills of it, and to have extended their poſſeſſions and their name, as far at leaſt as the territories of the Seduni extended, even up to Orzieres.

But we may add one link more, to this chain of

τας δυςχωριας, τοῖς συναχθροισθεῖσι οι των Αλλοβριγων ηγεμονες ικανον το πληθος, προκαθελαβοντο τας συκαιρους τοπους, δι' ων εδει τους περι τον Αννιβαν καθ' αναγκην ποιεισθαι την αναβολην. When the Carthaginians "were "*juſt now preparing* to aſcend the Alps, they *found themſelves in a* "*ſituation that ſeemed likely to prove fatal to them.* The chiefs of the "Allobriges [on their ſides] *had ſuffered them to paſs the plains,* "*without any interruption or diſturbance,*" how very wordy! "being "reſtrained in part by their apprehenſions of the Carthaginian ca-"valry, and partly by the dread of thoſe barbarians that *followed in* "*the rear.* But when the latter had returned back again to their "country, and Annibal with the foremoſt of his troops *was now* "*beginning,*" though the very ſame word in the original before is rendered *were juſt now preparing,* "to enter the difficult paſſes of "the mountains, they drew together their forces in great num-"bers, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the poſts, that commanded "the defiles through which the Carthaginians were obliged to "paſs" (1. 355).

g Polybius iii. 51. Τους μεν πλειους των Αλλοβριγων απεκτειναν, τους δε λοιπους τρεψαμενοι ηναγκασε φυγειν εις την οικειαν. "The greater "part of the Allobroges were ſlain, and the reſt forced to fly" "(1. 357).

reaſoning

reaſoning. That part of the country to the ſouth of the Rhone, which runs from Geneva to the ſprings of it, is a long and narrow valley, as I have noted before; which is called *Vallais* in itſelf, and gives the name of *Valois*, *Vallaiſans*, or *Valleſins* to its inhabitants[h]. *It* was called *Vallis*, and *they* were called *Vallenſes*, formerly. A writer of Switzerland ſays in the ſixth century, that the Lombards entered *the Valley*; in his provinciated Latinity, "Longobardi "in *Valle* ingreſſi ſunt[i]." But we find the *Vallenſes* themſelves, on the *mountains* of the Alps. We find them, not merely as far as Polybius carries his Allobriges, and up the ſides of the Sedunian mountains; but within the boundaries of the Salaſſi alſo, and on the very ſummit of Great St. Bernard. *There* was erected a miliary column of the Romans, that has theſe with other words engraven upon it:

F. C. V A L[k].

The two firſt letters I ſhall ſoon ſhew, to mean the ſtage that is called "Summum Peninum" by the Itinerary and the Tables. But the addition of VALLENSIUM to them, a national deſignation ſubjoined to the appellation of a ſtage, is of conſiderable moment for elucidating this portion of our hiſtory. It ſhews the ſtage and the mountain to

[h] Breval's Firſt Travels ii. 24, Addiſon 461, Simler 13—14, and Sauſſure iv. 229.

[i] Breval's Firſt Travels, ii. 24.

[k] Sauſſure iv. 229.

have been then, in the poſſeſſion of the *Vallenſes*. It thus marks the progreſſive aſcent of the Gauls, from the valley of the Rhone below to the peak of the Pennine Alps above; re-echoes what the name of Allobroges had ſounded to us before; and with it loudly proclaims the firſt inhabitants of theſe Alps, to have come into them from the Vallais, to have entered them by the mouth of the Drance at Martigny, and to have aſcended them in the line of the Drance to Great St. Bernard.

Let me however add a third link to the chain, and then ſhow how far the whole extends. Cæſar informs us in exact correſpondency with all this, that the Seduni "lived upon the Alps," and "reached up to the very ſummits of them[1]." We found them indeed, when Hannibal invaded their Alps by the paſs of Martigny, ſtretching up the mountains only as far as Orzieres, nine miles from the paſs, and ſixteen ſhort of Great St. Bernard. But, before the days of Cæſar, they had extended their poſſeſſions all the way to Great St. Bernard, and had ſo far encroached upon what were the territories of the Salaſſi before. We have alſo beheld the *Sallyvii* in Livy, coming the third army of Gauls acroſs the Alps of Great St. Bernard, and ſettling about the river Ti-

[1] De Bell Gall. iii. 7. p. 90. "Victis in Alpibus Sedunis," and i. p. 85. "Nantuates, Veragros, Sedunoſque—, qui a finibus Allobrogum, et lacu Lemano, et flumine Rhodano ad Summas Alpes pertinent."

cino

cino in Italy[m]. Theſe are denominated the *Sallyi* by Pliny[n]; and appear from Marcellinus to be the very ſame with the *Salyes* about Marſeilles, conſequently to have marched *all along the foot of the Weſtern Alps, to the only entrance on the north*[o]. But they were equally the ſame aſſuredly with thoſe very *Salaſſi*, by whom Hannibal and we have been ſo buſily engaged in aſcending the Alps, and who are denominated *Salaſi* in Auguſtus's inſcription at Monaco[p]. The ſimilarity of appellation evinces the ſameneſs of origin, reflected as that ſimilarity appears in the variations of the name before, and confirmed as this ſameneſs is found under all the variations. Thus the tide of colonization, that ſet ſo ſtrongly from the Rhone to the Po, had receded from the Po again, and ſettled back upon the Alps; even receded and ſettled ſo early, as to meet the tide of Alpine population puſhing up from the north, only a little way up the aſcent, even at Orzieres only; before the days of Hannibal. The Salaſſi however, we muſt remember, in thus ſettling back upon the Alps, did not find them un-occupied and ſolitary mountains. No! The Taurini, whoſe capital was Turin, had previouſly ſpread up the ſouthern Alps, juſt as

[m] Livy v. 35. "Salluvii, prope antiquam gentem Lævos Li-"gures, incolentes circa Ticinum amnem."

[n] Pliny iii. 17. "Vercellæ Libycorum, ex Sallyis ortæ."

[o] Marcellinus xv. xi. p. 104. "His [Marſeilles, &c.] prope "Salluvii ſunt."

[p] Pliny iii. 20.

the

the Seduni had done up the northern; but had ſpread much farther up thoſe, than the Seduni had done up theſe; and were actually poſſeſſed of Great St. Bernard, before the very migration of the Salluvii acroſs the Alps, even before the very migration of Bellovefus himſelf. The army of Belloveſus, ſays Livy, "*mounted over* the Alps through *the country of the* "*Taurini*, and through foreſts unpaſſed before[q]." And for that very reaſon Antiochus of Syracuſe, as Cato reports him, calls the Pennine mountain expreſsly the "Taurinian[r]." So thoroughly peopled from the ſummit to the baſe, was the ſouthern and ſunny ſide of the Alps, though it was ſtill covered in many parts with thick and untracked foreſts; at the very time, that the northern was one dreary and diſmal wilderneſs of wood! Theſe Taurini the Salaſſi muſt have now reduced, then ſwept down the northern Alps, and reduced the Seduni. For theſe conqueſts are the Salaſſi dignified by Dio with a double name, one their own appellation, the other the general appellation of their conquered nations; and denominated the *Salaſſi Galatæ*[s]. But, though the Taurini revolted not, yet the Seduni appear from Cæſar to have done ſo, to have riſen againſt their conquerors, to have thrown off their yoke en-

[q] Livy v. 35. "Ipſi per Taurinos ſaltuſque invios Alpes tran-"ſcenderunt."

[r] Cato. "A quo [Api] Apennina, quam Taurinam idem [An-"tiochus Syracuſanus] interpretatur." Macrob. Saturn. i. 21.

[s] Dio lxxix. 34, Σαλασσους Γαλατας. So *Lævi Ligures* and *Libui Galli*.

tirely,

tirely, to have broken into their dominions, and to have actually poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſummit of the Alps.

This hiſtory of the firſt population of the mountains, amazingly coincides with the accounts before, of the firſt routes taken by armies over them; to lend additional confirmation, if it was at all wanted, of the rightneſs of the courſe which we have aſſigned to the army of Hannibal. But the confirmation is not wanted. Only it appears aſtoniſhing to my mind, to ſee ſo many rays accidentally iſſuing from different points, caſually converging to one common center, and ſo throwing a blaze of luſtre over a road, which has been ſo long concealed under the clouds of Livy. Strabo accordingly tells us, that the Alps were "inhabited by many nations of *Gauls*" in his time, and that "the *Allobroges*" particularly "cultivated the plains and the vallies in the Alps[t]." Even that very vale in which Martigny ſtands, appears to have been denominated *the Pœnine Vale* by the Romans. The incident indeed is ſignified only by an inſcription, which is to the "Pro-legatus of "the province Raitia [Rhætia] and Vindelicia and "*the Pœnine Vale*[u]." But this inſcription is very clear; as no vale, except the great one of a hundred miles in length, could poſſibly be enumerated in

[t] Strabo ii. 190. Ἔθνη δὲ κατέχει πολλὰ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο Κελτικὰ, and iv. 283. Ἀλλοβρόγες γὰρ—γεωργοῦσι τὰ πεδία καὶ τὰς κοιλάδας τὰς ἐν τοῖς Ἄλπεσι.

[u] Simler 107.

company

company with the two ſtates of Vindelicia and Rhoetia, and be ſubjected with them expreſsly to the authority of a "Pro-legatus." Yet learning, which *loves to puzzle itſelf*, has pretended to doubt at times, whether ſome little and inconſiderable vale may not be meant by the name[w]. Learning, like its ancient type the owl, is frequently confounded and oppreſſed by too-much light; ſhrinks therefore into holes and corners, to court its beloved ſhade. The northern mountaineers were denominated Vallenſes, as coming originally from the Valley; and, by a reciprocation of relationſhip, the Valley itſelf was denominated the Pennine. But, as a ſignal corroboration of all, the territories of the Vallaiſans *ſtretch up at this very day to the top of Great St. Bernard*; and the boundary between them and the Savoyards, thoſe modern Taurini and modern Salaſſi, *runs along the top at preſent*[x].

—II.—

FROM this narrow ſtream of population, which had mounted aloft, like the liquid in the thermometer, againſt the natural principles of gravitation, under the attraction of bright ſkies and warm ſuns; we have ſeen villages and towns upon the Alps, in the line of Hannibal's great road up them. Six

[w] Simler 108. [x] Sauſſure iv. 225.

miles

miles within the entrance, we found the capital of the Seduni, ſurrounded by its ſubject villages. Even when we entered the dominions of the Salaſſi, at the diſtance of nine miles up the mountains; we noticed ſeveral of their villages or towns. Both theſe incidents ſhow the road up to Great St. Bernard, to have been properly *ſtudded* with towns, great or ſmall, for the whole length of its courſe. Such indeed were neceſſary for the accommodation of the travellers, and for the reception of the horſes, that muſt have been paſſing along it. When the natives of Gaule had ſettled themſelves in Italy, the oppoſing barrier of hills between theſe two diviſions of countrymen, would frequently be traverſed in the neceſſary intercourſe betwixt them. The enterpriſing genius of commerce too, that infant Hercules, yet in its cradle, but ſtill proving itſelf a Hercules by the energy of its infantine exertions, would boldly ſeize and firmly graſp the advantages, that might be derived from this new-found avenue into *the world* of Italy. The avenue would thus become a road, practiſed and improved from time to time. Travellers create villages, where there are none; and enlarge them into towns where they are: eſpecially in that early period of journeying, when neither buſineſs nor pleaſure had yet provided its relays of horſes at poſt-houſes, and therefore could not yet play its grand freaks, or grand ſtrokes, of expeditiouſneſs in poſting; when the horſe and the man were obliged to make ſhort ſtages, were compelled to reſt for ſome time at each, and demanded

demanded a variety of accommodations for the ſlow reſtoration of their ſtrength. We accordingly obſerve in the very early days of Cæſar, that the road was *then* frequented by a number of travelling merchants, and by gangs of horſes accompanying them; that it was *then* the one only channel, by which the north-weſt of Italy received the commodities of France, the Vallais, or Switzerland; and that it was therefore become of ſo much conſequence to Italy, as induced Cæſar to engage in a romantic ſort of enterpriſe, for the ſake of it. He ſent a large detachment of his army out of France, to Geneva, to St. Maurice, to Martigny, and the Alps; thus to enter the unſubdued Vallais, and to mount the un-reduced Alps, in order to free the merchants from the impoſts which were now laid upon their wares, and from the dangers to which they were now expoſed in their perſons: and to ſtay at Martigny for the winter, in order effectually to overawe the Seduni on the hills of entrance, and to ſecure the ſafety of the road, with the immunity of the wares, paſſing through their country. This conduct in Cæſar blazons out to us in very lively colours, the commercial importance of this road at the time. It ſeems indeed to have been even thus early, as practiſed, as commercial, and as conſequential, as it is at this very moment. It was then the only road, it is only one of many now. We have therefore reaſon ſufficient to ſuppoſe, that it had equally, though not in an equal degree perhaps, a commercial con-

ſequence in the time of Hannibal. We have actually one feature in the complexion of Hannibal's hiſtory, that *looks* as much. The Gallick embaſſadors to him from the north of Italy, had come by this very road in peace; and re-entered this very road in peace, during the night of his encampment at the mouth of it. Only from the great frequency of travellers upon it even then, *could* they have paſſed the mountains before. Only from the ſame frequency, *could* they have returned now, have mixed with the mountaineers in the town adjoining, and have informed Hannibal of the retreat of the mountaineers to the town at night. As ſome of the cuſtomary travellers upon the road, they paſſed and repaſſed thoſe mountains un-moleſted, which afterwards ſhowed, and at the very moment were ſhowing, every ſign of hoſtility to Hannibal himſelf. The army was denied an entrance, while the travellers were permitted to enter.

In this view of the Pennine way we may confidently preſume, that there was a village or a town upon that great bend of the whole, that vaſt key-ſtone in this atlantéan arch of nature's conſtruction, at which the way ceaſes to aſcend and begins to deſcend. There the over-laboured traveller would wiſh to repoſe, after all his ſtraining efforts of aſcent; to triumph awhile in the ſucceſs of his efforts; and to contemplate the much eaſier, the downward, half of his road into Italy. There, for the ſame reaſon,

Hannibal

Hannibal reſted awhile[a]. But we need not dwell upon any preſumption. We know from Livy, that this ſuper-eminent peak of the Alps was actually inhabited in his time; as he mentions expreſsly "the inhabitants of this hill[b]." He tells us alſo, that theſe "inhabitants" had "a ſtatue of a god, which "they had conſecrated to him on the higheſt point "of the mountains, and called Peninus[c]." Nor was this ſtatue ſet up upon a pillar in the open air, as the wild folly even of local writers has ſurmiſed[d]; but, as the term "conſecrated" hints, and as the exiſtence of a temple ſpeaks out, was placed in that temple of Pennine Jupiter, in which we have actually found it before. A temple then was erected on Great St. Bernard, ſo early as the days of Livy. Yet we can mount much higher with it; Terentius Varro, as we have ſeen before, preſenting a pillar for a pedeſtal to the god in this very temple, on the Roman reduction of the country; and the elder Cato, as we have equally ſeen before, ſpeaking of the worſhip paid there in his time to the Pennine deity. This leads us up very nearly to the time of Han-

[a] Polybius iii. 53. Ἐμεινε: Livy xxi. 35. "In jugo ſtativa "habita."

[b] Livy xxi. 38. "Incolæ jugi ejus."

[c] Livy ibid. "Ab eo, quem, in ſummo ſacratum vertice, "Peninum montani appellant."

[d] Sauſſure iv. 229. "De Rivaz, auteur Valaiſan, pretend que "vers l'an 339 Conſtantine le jeune fit abattre la ſtatue de Jupiter, *qui etoit au haut du paſſage*, et que *l'on mit á ſa place une "colonne milliaire* dediée á ce Prince. Cette colonne," &c.

nibal. Some indeed have been weak enough to ſurmize, from the local appellation of this Jupiter being vitiated into P*æ*ninus and P*æ*nus at times, that he was a Carthaginian Jove, and that Hannibal himſelf erected this temple to him[e]. But I have already accounted for the vitiation, in a manner more hiſtorical. Hannibal indeed, unhappily for himſelf and for mankind, was not of that mild and amiable and religious claſs of men, who build temples. Nor, if he had been, could he have found leiſure for the work at preſent. But the temple was built, long before his time. This appears from a ſlight notice preceding. We have ſeen the Taurini poſſeſſed of Great St. Bernard, even at the period of Belloveſus's march up the Alps from the north; and the very hill of St. Bernard denominated the Taurinian mountain, as well as the Pennine. But we may now ſee the very deity that was worſhipped there, called equally Pennine and Taurinian.* Cato reports the Apennine goddeſs, as he calls the god Peninus, to be interpreted by Antiochus of Syracuſe, a writer therefore prior to himſelf, "the goddeſs Taurina[f]." Long therefore before the time of Hannibal, was the temple of this deity conſtructed here; and the fane of the god was of courſe the church of the inhabitants. So plainly and ſo early have we found a town

[e] Sauſſure iv. 227—228.

[f] Cato. "A quo [Api] Apennina, quam Taurinam idem "[Antiochus Syracuſanus] interpretatur." Macrob. Saturn. i. 2.

upon

upon Great St. Bernard; the Taurini, who came up from Italy, in an exalted attention to their own devotions, and in the dignity of ſentiment that religion naturally inſpires, conceiving the bold thought of building houſes upon this airy elevation, of raiſing a church on it to the god of their Alps, and ſo crowning this *globe of mountains* with a temple and a town; in the ſight of Italy, in the neighbourhood of the ſky, more than eight thouſand of our feet above the level of the Mediterranean, and on the loftieſt ſite of any town, of any houſe, in all Europe, or even in all the old world [s].

When the Romans reduced the Salaſſi, they continued the town which they found here; and Varro the reducer preſented an offering of gratitude to Jupiter, in the temple of it. The town accordingly appears in the Itinerary under the title of "Summum "Peninum," and in the Tables under that of "In "Summo Pennino." It was then to the Romans what it had been to the Salaſſi, the grand *landing-place* for their travellers and their ſoldiers, in their paſſage up this ſteep ſtaircaſe of mountains. But though the town is marked only by this notation, in the Tables and in the Itinerary; yet it appears from inſcriptions to have had another. I have recited a

[s] Sauſſure iv. 241, Bourit iii. 269, and Gentleman's Guide 44.

part of one inſcription before, and now give the whole.

IMP. CAESARI CONSTANTINO
P.F. INVICTO AUG. DIVI CONSTANTINI
AUG. FILIO BONO REIPUBLICE NATO
F. C. VAL. XXIIII[h].

From this the ſtone appears to be, as I have ſtated it before, a miliary column; ſet up in the reign of the younger Conſtantine, and therefore bearing an inſcription to his honour. It was then placed at the "Summum Peninum" of the Itinerary, and therefore at *its* diſtance of *twenty-four* miles from Aoſta. There it actually ſtood in the days of De Rivaz, an author of the Vallais; when he aſſerted "*Conſtantine* "*the younger* to have taken down the ſtatue of Ju- "piter, which was at the *elevation of the paſs*, and *to* "*have fixed in its place a miliary column dedicated to* "*himſelf*[i]." A writer, who is happily a religious man, or, which is often the ſame thing to an author, who writes in a religious age; and, in himſelf or his cotemporaries, has juſtly entertained a very high idea of that glorious revolution, which Chriſtianity made in the œconomy of our weſtern world; if his ideas are not directed, and if his religiouſneſs is not tempered, by hiſtorical knowledge, is apt to attribute every monument that occurs, to the victory of Chriſ-

h Sauſſure iv. 229.

i Sauſſure iv. 229. "Au haut du paſſage—l' on mit—une "colonne milliaire dediée à ce Prince."

tianity over Heatheniſm. A common mileſtone is thus made to diſplace a ſtatue of Jupiter; when the ſtatue was actually placed in the temple on the plain, and the ſtone muſt have been ſet up at the town on the north-eaſt. Erected in the town, the ſtone *therefore* ſtood "In Summo Pennino," or "at the elevation of the paſs." De Rivaz *ſaw* the mileſtone actually there, and only *ſuppoſed* the ſtatue to have been there before. But it has been ſince removed by that curioſity of antiquarianiſm, which has now been awake for a couple of centuries, and, in its avidity for ſecuring monuments to gratify its appetites, has removed ſtones in our own country to a diſtance from their original ſite; down to St. Peter's, about nine miles below on the north [k]. On that original ſite it was erected *by* the town, and therefore carries a few words *concerning* the town. The laſt line gives us the primary ſyllable of the national appellation, and the two initial letters of the town's name prefixed. In words at length the line would run thus, FORUM CLAUDII VALLENSIUM; and the reading is fully aſcertained by another inſcription, found in this form upon a rude ſtone at Martigny:

IMP. CÆSARI VAL.
CONSTANTIO PIO
FEL. INVICTO AUG.
FILIO. FOR. CL. VAL. BONO
REIPVBLICAE NATO [l].

The double name of the town, which is *there* given

[k] Sauſſure iv. 229. [l] Simler 86.

only in F. C. is opened *here* into FOR. CL. and ſo explains itſelf into *Forum Claudii*. When the Romans reduced the Salaſſi, and became the ſovereigns of the Alps; with their uſual ſpirit, no doubt, they heightened the conveniences of accommodation upon the roads. We accordingly ſee the Salaſſi employed by them, in new forming the roads and in bridging over the rivers of the country, immediately after the conqueſt of it[m]. They enlarged alſo the *Caer Penine* or *Pennodune* of the Salaſſi, by *eſtabliſhing a market at it*; and then, with that love of propagating their own glory by impoſing their own names upon places, which appears ſo conſpicuous in all their conqueſts, denominated the new market-town from the perſonal name of the eſtabliſher, *Forum Claudii*.

Yet why is the town additionally characteriſed, as belonging to the Vallenſes? When all belonged, why is any ſpecified? For two good reaſons. There was another town of the ſame appellation, in the neighbouring north of Italy; noticed by Pliny under the title of "Forum Clodii," by the Itinerary and Tables under that of "Forum Clodi," but by Ptolemy under this of "Forum Claudii[n]." There was even another among the Alps themſelves; Ptolemy fixing a "Forum Claudii" on the Graian Alps, and giving it to the Centrones[o]. An inſcription alſo has been

[m] Strabo iv. 315. Ὡς ὁδοποιϊάς, ἢ γεφυρϊάς πόλεμος.

[n] Pliny iii. 15, Bertius 18, Firſt Segment of the Tables, and Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 72.

[o] Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 71.

found

found at Aiſme near Centron, that, ſomething like our own at Martigny, exhibits FOROCL. CENTRON; but, like that, has no relation to the place at which it was found, Axima being mentioned expreſsly by Ptolemy as totally diſtinct from Forum Claudii; and therefore refers only to Centron [p]. But the exiſtence of three towns under the ſame appellation, and two of them ſuch near neighbours, obliged as many of them at leaſt to be noticed with a difference from the third; one as the "Forum Claudii" of the Centrones, the other as the "Forum Claudii" of the Vallenſes. Yet there was another reaſon for this addition of character; that each of theſe two is the *capital* of its own nation. This is very clear with regard to the Centrones, and is alſo clear, though not equally ſo, with reſpect to the Vallenſes too. The capitals of nations, as I have noted formerly, in the fourth or fifth century began to take the national appellatives for their own; and the cuſtom could have ariſen only from the previous cuſtom, of annexing the names of their nations to their own. Thus "Lutetia Pariſiorum" was naturally abbreviated at laſt into Paris, and "Forum Claudii Centronum" into Centron. Thus alſo the "Forum Claudii Vallenſium" once took, though it has ſince loſt, the national deſignation for its own. This appears from an inſcription which has been accidentally preſerved at Geneva, which I conſider as an *unique* in favour of a

[p] D'Anville 317—318.

lawyer

lawyer among the Romans, and which in its provinciated Latinity tells us; that he was "a young man," yet "a learned pleader," and "a freeman of the two "towns of VALLENSIS and of Nyon[q]." The "Forum Claudii Vallenſium" accordingly ſhows its metropolitical dignity, as well as "Forum Claudii Centronum;" in extending its authority from Great St. Bernard to Martigny, as that has from Centron to Aiſme; and in recording the extenſion, by inſcribing a ſtone with its own name there. On St. Bernard then was the capital of thoſe Seduni, who had come up from the Vallais, ſeized the vacant highlands up to Orzieres, and then encroached upon the Salaſſi as far as this creſt of the Alps; and on St. Bernard ſtill remained the capital under the Romans, preſerving its ſovereignty over theſe Alps, and ſtretching out its authority all down the hills to the Vallais. The Seduni in all probability encroached upon the Salaſſi, *juſt before* Cæſar's expedition to Martigny; and then, flushed with inſolence on their own ſucceſs, impoſed heavy taxes upon travellers. And the line between the Salaſſi and Seduni being on the top of St. Bernard, as that between the Savoyards and the Vallaiſans now is; the Seduni are properly ſaid by Cæſar, while the Salaſſi are as properly reported by Strabo, with a contradictorineſs

[q] Breval's Firſt Travels ii. 23. "Juveni, erudito cauſidico, "bis civi Vallenſe et Equeſtre." See it alſo in Simler 14, but leſs correctly given thus in the main point, "Bis civi Valinſæ et "Equeſtri."

that

that is thus reconciled with eaſe, equally to poſſeſs the ſummit of the Alps[r].

III. The

[r] Strabo iv. 314.

D'Anville 501 ſays thus: "Dans la Notice des provinces de "la Gaule, *civitas Vallenſium Octoduro* eſt la ſeconde des deux "cités, dont il eſt mention dans la province des Alpes Gréques "et Pennines, la premiere etant *Darantaſia*." This, if true, would only make Martigny to be what I have already noted it to have once been (I. iii. 1. at beginning), the capital of the Vallais. But it is all a groſs miſtake, and ſeems to be founded entirely upon a ſubſtitution by the eye or memory, of Pancirollus's commentary upon the Notitia for the Notitia itſelf. There in p. 157 we read, that "poſt has ſunt Alpes Penninæ et Graiæ—; Itine-"rarium duas civitates ponit, *Metropolim* Centronium, id eſt, "Tarantaſiam, et *Vallenſium*, id eſt, *Octodorum*." There too the reference is expreſsly to the Itinerary, and to the two towns in p. 22 of it. But the pre-eminent authority of theſe towns, is all Pancirollus's own, and all ſpurious; the Itinerary ſimply naming only Darantaſia and Octodurum; and Centron, St. Bernard, being the real capitals. Yet the miſtake ſo far appears in a previous page, 318, and probably in others, that Darantaſia is ſaid to be *named for the capital* by the Notitia; "dans la Notice des pro-"vinces de la Gaule,—c'eſt *Darantaſia*, qui eſt nommée en cette "qualité de capitale."——I thus take my leave of this great geographer. He is truly great. But ſuch is the difficulty of having high expectations gratified, that I expected more pleaſure and profit from him than I have enjoyed. The exaggerated reputation of his geography, is actually hurting its real character. The extravagant panegyrick, which Mr. Gibbon particularly has beſtowed upon it, made me expect a double accuracy in his own country. There the nature of my work peculiarly compelled me to conſult him; and there, like my own Hannibal, I determined peculiarly to try his ſtrength. But I was diſappointed in the trial. I have caught, indeed, many a beam of light from his torch; but I had reaſon and right to expect, that the light would have been more ſteady, more ſure, and more ſtrong. I have been obliged to deſert it frequently, to light my own taper, and to explore my own way by it. I have even looked occaſionally into his

— III. —

THE moment you *ſtep* upon the ſummit of Great St. Bernard, you ſee the road running ſmooth before you in a long and narrow valley, that is formed by rocky eminences on either ſide. But cloſe to you, and on the north-eaſtern extremity of this valley, is that town-like groupe of buildings, which ſtands upon the ſite of the antient "Forum Claudii," and gives the denomination of St. Bernard to the whole mountain. It ſtands, as the antient town ſtood, "In "Summo Pennino," and, as the milliary column was placed, "at the elevation of the paſſage;" being on the loftieſt point of the road acroſs the top, and having two rivers run directly north and ſouth from it. Immediately beyond this is a lake of water, about a mile and a half in circumference, and forming a ſingular contraſt with the naked rocks around it. It is deep, and the depth throws a ſhade of blackneſs over its waters[a]. A lake of ſuch a ſize upon ſo narrow a creſt, is a ſingular phœnomenon, I believe. This little appendage is certainly noticed by antient writers. So intimately has the mountain

his General Geography, in the only region with which I was ſufficiently acquainted myſelf, to judge of his acquaintance with it; and, ſo far as I can judge by the contracted *ſpeculum* of the Abridgment, his account of *Antient Britain* is very imperfect and very erroneous.

[a] Sauſſure iv. 225, 226, 256, and Bourrit iii. 272,

been

been known formerly to the nations of Europe, from this frequented paſs over it. It is mentioned expreſsly by Ptolemy; when, in tracing the boundaries of the Italick Boii, he ſpeaks of a river as riſing "at "the Pœnine Lake[b]." It is alſo noticed, even denominated, in the Tables of Peutinger; the "Lacus "Henus" being delineated there as a broad lake, and appearing to ſend out a river that runs down to Auguſta Prætoria[c]. But, what is very ſurpriſing, it is noticed equally by our own Nennius, ſome ages afterward; a writer, who amidſt his general ignorance ſhows a minuteneſs of knowledge on this point, for which nothing but the continuance and the celebrity of this old road over the Alps, can poſſibly account. "The ſeventh Emperour," he ſays concerning Maximian, "ſlew Gratian King of the Ro-"mans; and then gave his ſoldiery many regions, "from *the lake which is on the top of the mountain of* "*Jupiter*, to" &c[d]. This lake muſt have been a boundary to ſome dominions, in the days of Maximian or Nennius, or of both; as on its banks *was* the limitary line between the Salaſſi and Seduni, and *is* between the Vallaiſans and Savoyards. At this piece of water, the narrow valley becomes ſtill narrower. There is only a ſtrait path, between the eminence on the right and the lake on the left. By

[b] Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 70. Καὶα τὴν Ποινικὴν λίμνην.

[c] Second Segment.

[d] Nennius c. xxiii. "A ſtagno, quod eſt ſuper verticem "Montis Jovis, uſque ad" &c.

this

this you enter Savoy, and then the plain of Jupiter commences[e]. In and about this town, along the ſide of this lake, and all over this plain, did Hannibal now encamp with his forces[f]. The town would afford a hoſpitable ſhelter for his ſick, and warm ſtabling for his horſes. The plain would be brightened up, with the tents of his ſoldiery; the dull lake would reflect their figure dimly; and the eminences on each ſide would echo, to the ſounds of numerous voices, to the accents of the Carthaginian language, the hurry of military activity, and the clamours of a crouded camp.

But to the aſtoniſhment of my reader let me add, that coins have been actually found upon this mountain, which were CARTHAGINIAN. The firſt, who communicated this extraordinary piece of intelligence to the world, was M. Bourrit, that lively deſcriber of the Alps, that judicious collector of intelligence concerning them; who has juſt learning ſufficient to direct, to qualify his vivacity, and juſt vivacity enough to quicken, to impregnate his learning; is thus formed and tempered by the happy union of both, into the moſt enterpriſing, the moſt knowing, and the moſt picturesque, of all writing travellers. "Anciently and in the time of the Romans," ſays this author, "the Grand St. Bernard was a paſs much

[e] Sauſſure iv. 225.

[f] Polybius iii. 53. Αὐλὴ καλουμένη; Livy xxi. 35. "In "jugo ſtativa habita."

"frequented:

"frequented: ſeveral have believed, that it was by "this paſs Hannibal opened himſelf a way into "Italy. THE CARTHAGINIAN MEDALS, WHICH "HAVE BEEN FOUND THERE, HAVE SERVED TO "SPREAD THAT OPINION. That which has more "certainty in it" than the paſſage of Hannibal over this hill, "is, that it had—a temple dedicated to the "god Penninus[g]." This teſtimony is very ſtrong, and carries great weight with it. But it becomes ſtronger and more weighty, from the ſtate of M. Bourrit's own convictions at the time, concerning Hannibal. He was perſuaded with numbers, and as firmly perſuaded as a man could be who had never examined the point, that Hannibal penetrated into Italy by a very different route, the route of the Cottian Alps. "It is not twenty years," he ſays in one place, "ſince the world has talked about and travel-"led upon the Alps; *Hannibal never traverſed them*, "it is believed, *except in the part adjoining to Dau-"phiny*, which is the loweſt of this grand chain[h]."

[g] Bourrit iii. 271. "Anciennement et du temps des Ro-"mains, le Grand Saint-Bernard etoit un paſſage tres-frequenté. "Pluſieurs ont cru, que c'etoit par-là qu' Annibal s'etoit "ouvert l'entrée del' Italie. Des medailles Carthaginoiſes, que "l'on y a trouvées, ont ſervi á repandre cette opinion. Ce qu'il "y a de plus certain, c'eſt qu'il y avoit—un temple dediée au "Dieu Pennin."

[h] Bourrit iii. 2. "Il n'y a pas vingt années, qu'on parle des "Alpes et qu'on y voyage; Annibal ne traverſa, á ce qu'on "croit, que la partié voiſine du Dauphiné, qui eſt la plus baſſe de "cette grande chaine."

Thus

Thus believing, however erroneouſly, he could not ſuffer himſelf to be deluded by that ready enthuſiaſm of faith, which catches eagerly at any phantoms of argument, ſeeming to carry the features of its own preconceptions. He could not even be warped by that ſoberer ſort of belief, which neceſſarily inclines more to any reaſons that aſſimilate with its own perſuaſions, than to thoſe of a contrary nature. His mind indeed muſt have revolted at the moment, and his prejudices have been alarmed at the intelligence. He who believed Hannibal to have gone over the Cottian Alps, and believed it ſo ſteadily as to declare his belief in this very work, muſt have been unwilling to receive any intelligence, that either overſet this perſuaſion entirely or only oppoſed it directly. He accordingly ſhows his unwillingneſs, at the very inſtant he records the information. He ſhows this in a ſlight manner indeed, in a manner not very unphiloſophical, not very diſ-ingenuous; but he ſtill ſhows it. He does ſo in ſaying, "that which has *more of certainty* in it is" &c.; thus admitting the fact, allowing the argument, but ſhrinking haſtily back from the neceſſary concluſion, *becauſe* it was contrary to his preconceptions; and pretending to doubt a little its force, *becauſe* he felt the point of it in his mind. All renders his teſtimony concerning the Carthaginian medals, of greater validity in itſelf. We have in his indeed the higheſt of all teſtimonies, the evidence of an enemy, the evidence of a declared enemy;

enemy; for the diſcovery of theſe medals upon Great St. Bernard.

To ſuch an atteſtation, nothing need be added in power and efficacy. Yet let me add, what is not neceſſary, yet muſt be uſeful. A momentous point ſhould never in policy be reſted, upon a ſingle witneſs, however competent. And, though an Atlas may be able to bear up the globe himſelf, a Hercules may conveniently relieve him at times.—The Right Reverend the EARL of BRISTOL has repeatedly aſſured me by word and by letter, that theſe Carthaginian medals were actually *ſhewn to him*, upon the top of Great St. Bernard, by one of the clergymen there; whom I ſuppoſed and he believed to be M. Murith, the ſame clergyman who probably reported them to M. Bourrit, as he was occaſionally M. Bourrit's fellow-traveller on the Alps[1]. His Lordſhip very obligingly promiſed on his going abroad in 1792, to procure me farther intelligence concerning them, and (if poſſible) to get me the papers of the clergyman then ſuppoſed to be deceaſed; but failed in his deſign, from the perturbed ſtate of the continent in the autumn of 1792 and in the ſummer of 1793. The French frenzy of equality, which in its very terms was calculated only for the mob of mankind, which was ſure (if it ſucceeded) to rouze all the venom of malignity in the mean againſt the great,

[1] Bourrit i. 42, &c.

and has ſhewn itſelf in its actual energies among the French, to be only an inſurrection of the poor againſt the purſes of the rich, a combination of cut-throats againſt the lives of the honeſt, and a fabrication of hell for the deſolation of earth; had then made France the very

Furiis agitatus Oreſtes

of the continent, fixed half the world in a deep attention to that Bedlamite, and engaged all the neighbouring nations in a neceſſary combination of efforts, to repel the violence of his aſſaults, to diſarm the madman of his weapons, and to bind the demoniack in chains; ſo rendered all enquiries concerning Hannibal among the Vallaiſans a mere impertinence, all travels of curioſity over the Alps a work of danger. This however is the ſlighteſt of conſequences, from ſuch a frenzy; for,

Had it power, it would
Pour the ſweet milk of concord into hell,
Uproar the univerſal peace, confound
All unity on earth.

But, with this "Ate hot from hell" ranging over France, we have the grand point, the diſcovery of Carthaginian medals upon Great St. Bernard, aſcertained beyond all reach of exception; and this aſtoniſhing addition to all the other evidences of Hannibal's route over that mountain, authenticated beyond all poſſibility of doubt.

Yet let me produce a third evidence, not indeed as a new witneſs to the general fact, but as the no-

ticer of a new circumſtance in it. The fact itſelf wants no additional witneſs, but the circumſtance is as ſtriking as it is novel. An author, who has travelled with much attention himſelf, and has publiſhed his own obſervations with thoſe of others to much advantage; informs us concerning our St. Bernard, that on it are "the remains of a Roman Temple, "WHERE inſcriptions, MEDALS, and ſome bronze "ſtatues, have been found[k]." He knew the quality of the medals, as well as the nature of the ſtatues and inſcriptions; but did not ſpecify that of any, leſt he ſhould be drawn away by the ſpecification, to a length incompatible with his plan. Like our own Hannibal, he only paſſes over St. Bernard *in his way to Italy*; and does but juſt make a halt upon it, like him, in his eagerneſs to reach his point of deſtination. But he uſefully informs us, that the medals were found where we know the inſcriptions and the ſtatues to have been diſcovered, in the ruins of Jupiter's Temple there. This circumſtance is entirely his own. Of the inſcriptions and the ſtatues, he might know from Guichenon and Sauſſure; of the very medals he might learn from Bourrit; but the diſcovery of the medals *in the ſame ruins with them*, he could collect only from his own notices.

[k] Gentleman's Guide 25, and what is the ſame work enlarged and *owned*, A Tour through Italy, &c, by Thomas Martyn, B. D. F.R.S. Profeſſor of Botany in the Univerſity of Cambridge. A new edition, 1792, p. 21.

Thus found however, they form an important part of the temple's relicks: and come in more uſefully than the ſtatues and inſcriptions themſelves, to illuſtrate the courſe of Hannibal over the Alps. In that ſpirit of pious gratitude, which had engraven all the inſcriptions and carved one at leaſt of the ſtatues, but which muſt be peculiarly pleaſing in *this* effuſion to every reader of religious ſenſibilty; Hannibal, who had too ſtrong an underſtanding and too lively a ſpirit, not to perceive his abſolute dependance upon HIM who created and controuls the world, not to feel a reverential awe for this inviſible Being, and not to conſider him as the all-powerful arbiter of his fortunes; who accordingly had gone to the temple of the Carthaginian Hercules at Cadiz, juſt before he begun his expedition, to implore a bleſſing from him, and to vow gratitude to him[l]; and had even ſo much of the habit of devoutneſs about him, that on finding his aſſembled ſoldiery on the Rhone, expreſs their fulleſt confidence in him, "he diſmiſſed them "with praiſes," ſays Polybius, "and with prayers to "the gods for them all[m];" even he, in the ſame exalted ſtrain of thinking and the ſame dignified tenour of acting, appears to have entered the temple on

[l] Livy xxi. 21.

[m] Polybius iii. 44. Επαινεσας ανδρας, και τοις θεοις υπερ απαντων ευξαμενος. "Annibal praiſed their zeal; and having *recommended them all to the favour and protection of the gods*," &c. (i. 346). How languidly diffuſive is the Engliſh, where the Greek is brief, briſk, and compact!

Great

Great St. Bernard, to have there preferred his thanks to the Jupiter of the Alps, for his victorious aſcenſion to their ſummit, and to have there preſented as a ſignificant expreſſion of his grateful acknowledgments, ſome pieces of CARTHAGINIAN COIN. Theſe were placed, like the Carbuncle of Little St. Bernard, at the feet of the god, I ſuppoſe, and on the top of his pedeſtal. Theſe continued with the god, it appears, like the Carbuncle and the inſcriptions, through all the political revolutions of the Heathen world; even in that grand renovation of the earth, which was made by the regenerating power of Chriſtianity, ſtill remained under the general averſion, with a ſanctity upon them that ſaved them from all violation; and ſo ſunk away, in the ruins of the whole building at laſt. Then the ſanctity was loſt in the diſſolution. Then inquiſitiveneſs ſucceeded to averſion, curioſity went to ranſack the remains for the illumination of hiſtory, and the inſcriptions, the ſtatues, the medals, were all brought to light again[n].

IV. ON

[n] In Ant. Un. Hiſt. xvii. 301. Mr. Swinton obſerves, that "the character—upon the Punic coins is various, many of thoſe "found in Spain, as well as Sicily, having letters entirely rude "and barbarous, while the better ſort exhibit a character, re"ſembling the Phœnician, and even the Aſſyrian or Hebrew "letters." P. 308 he adds; "We cannot recollect, that any "perſon has hitherto tried to explain the legends in any of the "Punic coins, notwithſtanding the letters on many of them "ſeem to be nearly related, partly to the Hebrew, partly to the "Syrian, and partly to the Phœnician." Then two Siculo-Punic medals have their legends explained; one of theſe is only

IV.

On these Alps of Great St. Bernard, and by this temple of the Pennine Jove, Hannibal rested for two whole days[a]. He thus gave time for his wearied soldiery and wearied cattle, to recover from their great fatigue. He also afforded leisure for some that he had left behind, to overtake him here[b]; if there was any *possibility* of their doing so, because of the

Hhitte for Hittites, the Carthaginians so called in a singular coincidence with scripture and with Procopius; the other is *Annib.* for Annibal (309—312), he being one of the *Suffetes*, or a king, of Carthage (574—575). "Hic—prætor factus est, postquam "*Rex* fuerat *anno secundo et vigesimo*: ut enim Romæ Consules, "sic Carthagine *quotannis* annui bini *Reges*, creabantur" (Cornelius Nepos xxiii. 212. Amstel. 1704). Hannibal therefore was chosen *one of the Reges* every year, for two and twenty years together, *because* he was all the while at the head of the army; and, on being deprived of that command at the requisition of the Romans, he became of course deprived of the *Royalty*, and was made Prætor, a civil officer. "Hannibalem domum revocarunt; "hic, ut rediit, Prætor factus est." Hence also in Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum, p. 41 (Bertius), we can *now* read without a smile, that "Ibi positus est *Rex Annibalianus*" &c.

[a] Polybius iii. 53. Δυο ημερας τριτην; Livy xxi. 35. "Biduo."

[b] Livy xxi. 35. "Fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data "militibus;" Polybius iii. 53. Αμα μεν αναπαυσαι τους διασωζομενους, αμα δε προσδεξασθαι τους υπολειπομενους. "That he might "give some ease and refreshment to the troops, that had per-"formed their march with safety; and that the others might "also join him, who were not yet arrived" (i. 362).

perfidious

perfidious hostility of the Salassi. These were horses, which had been thrown with their burdens upon their backs, or beaten with their cars behind them, down the precipices of the road at the entrance[c]. They had not been killed by the fall; but had been too much bruised, to proceed immediately with the army. Hannibal had therefore left them at the capital of the Seduni, under the care of their respective drivers. There the terrour, that he had lately impressed upon the hearts of the Seduni, by his defeat of them at the entrance; was their protection. They were not molested by the Seduni, though the army was gone. So much longer is the reach of fear, than the arm of power! They therefore recovered themselves sufficiently in three or four days, to set out after the army. Then, what was more surprising, the grand defeat of the Salassian perfidy at the hill of ambuscade, kept such a dread upon the spirits of this base and cowardly nation of politicians; that they, who had dared to think of entrapping Hannibal and all his army to their ruin, would not venture to seize a few of his stragglers. So much lower is the *ebb* of cunning, than its *flood* is high! These kept

[c] Livy xxi. 35. "Jumenta—, quæ *prolapsa* in *rupibus* erant;" and Polybius iii. 53. Ιππους των απεπτοημενων,—υποζυγια των απερριφοτων τα φορτια. See the account before. "Many of the *wounded* "horses," which were not wounded but *frightened*, "and of the "beasts that had thrown their burdens," of the horses in the cars, the preceding horses being beasts of burden, "in the late "disorders of the march," an interpolation which *should* have said, at the grand entrance into the Alps (i. 361).

ſteadily, no doubt, to the regular road; were even ſhewn this by the Salaſſi, as they had not the Gallick guides with them; and were ſhewn it, not as ſome of the travelling merchants that were frequently paſſing along the road, but as what they were, as what the Seduni muſt have reported them, as ſome of the very followers of Hannibal's army. The fear of the world is always ready to pay that homage to experienced ſucceſs, which it will refuſe to great abilities or to great power. So much more efficacious a principle within us is fear, than reaſon! Thus did they proceed in peace, though they formed a pretty large body[d], and avowedly followed the army. But the eagle of Carthage hovered over them as the genius of Hannibal, and carried the bolts of Jupiter in its talons. They thus travelled from Orzieres to St. Peter's, and from St. Peter's to Great St. Bernard[e]. From Hannibal's halt of two days upon St. Bernard, ſuperadded to the time which he had loſt, by the circuitous route that he had taken to it; they were able to reach him here. To the aſtoniſhment of the whole army, which had given up all hopes of ſeeing them more; they now advanced into the camp in ſafety[f].

In

[d] Livy xxxi. 35. ſays only "Aliquot," but Polybius iii. 53 ſpeaks of πολλυς μεν and πολλα δε.

[e] Livy xxi. 35. "Sequendo veſtigia agminis;" Polybius iii. 53. Τοις ςιβοις επομενα.

[f] Livy xxi. 35. "In caſtra pervenêre;" Polybius iii. 53. Παραδοξως αναδραμειν—, και συναψαι προς την παρεμβολην. They "arrived

In the aſcent to Great St. Bernard, ſmall huts appear frequently on the hills, erected for the nightly ſhelter of the cows that graze there, and of the families that attend them. They are built alſo for all the joint operations, of the dairy and the kitchen; and are therefore called to this day by the Celtick appellation of *Chalets*, which means only ſheds, and is ſounded back in the preſent *Shealings* of our own Highlanders, thoſe huts near the ſpots of grazing in our Scottiſh Alps, where butter and cheeſe are made [g]. Their walls are of rough ſtones, and about four feet high; while they themſelves are divided into two apartments, one for the family, another for the cattle. But all the partition between them is a cratch, raiſed about eighteen inches only from the ground. To this the cows are tied, and over this they put their heads into the room where the family is, in order to ſhare in their fire and partake of their ſociety. Such fellowſhip has man with beaſt, in a paſtoral ſtate; and ſo accuſtomed does the beaſt become, to the domeſtick life of man!

Men *mix* with beaſts, joint tenants of the *ſhed*.

The family have a fire before them, burning againſt the wall, and ſending out its ſmoke at the openings between the walls and the roof. By this fire is hang-

"arrived *unexpectedly* in the camp" (i. 361), παραδοξως, aſtoniſhingly. Mr. Hampton is often feeble, when his author is ſtrong.

[g] Birt's Letters from the Highlands ii. 123, &c. *Chalet* is a word unknown to the French language. *Scail* (Iriſh and Erſe) is a ſhadow, *Scaileach* (I. and E) is ſhady, and *Scailain* (E) is a fan, an umbrella.

ing

ing from a moveable crook of wood, a little kettle for making cheeſe; and the young dairy-woman of the hut may ſometimes be ſeen, ſitting upon the cratch againſt the fire, placed between the heads of her cows, ſtroking them at times; throwing her arms about their necks, and ſo forming a picture that might claim the pencil of a Teniers[h]. But no ſuch ſcenes as theſe are exhibited, on the top of Great St. Bernard. Not a *chalet* is to be ſeen anywhere upon it, the neareſt in the way of aſcent being about two miles to the north of St. Peter's[i]. Nor can we wonder at this. Not a blade of graſs is to be found, upon the ſummit[k]; and the ſummit therefore preſents the ſame naked appearance, as the burning ſands of the line. So philoſophically as well as poetically juſt is *our* Homer, when he aſcribes the ſcorching quality of heat to cold, and ſays;

> The parching air
> Burns frore, and cold performs the effect of fire[l].

How naked and forlorn then muſt this Alpine height have appeared, to the eyes of the Gauls, to the eyes of the Spaniards and Carthaginians, to the eyes of

[h] Sauſſure i. 322—323, and Bourrit i. 55—57.

[i] Sauſſure iv. 241, and the map prefixed to vol. iii.

[k] Sauſſure iv. 225.

[l] So we have in Virg. Georg. i. 93. "Boreæ penetrabile frigus "adurat;" in Pliny iii. 20. "præuſtis in tranſitu Alpium nive "membris;" and in Ecclus. xliii. 20, 21. "when the cold north-"wind bloweth,—it *devoureth* the mountains, and *burneth* the "wilderneſs, and *conſumeth the graſs as fire*." So old is the French theory in Coxe i. 333. Experience teaches quicker than philoſophy, and feeling is prior to reaſon.

all

all who were not prepared, for ſuch a ſameneſs of operation in two ſuch oppoſite cauſes! But all muſt have been reconciled to the view, by that happy pliancy of the human mind, which ſaves it from being ſhocked with any object, that it is gradually brought to obſerve. They muſt have ſeen the power of vegetation gradually ſinking, as they came near the top of the mountains; and have noted it to be utterly extinguiſhed, ſome miles before they reached the top[m]! The cauſe of all this they would too feelingly experience, in the rigorous blaſts that were acting ſo powerfully upon their bodies. But the drearineſs and diſmalneſs of the whole ſcenery, was accidentally heightened to them in a very formidable manner; by a heavy fall of ſnow[n], during the laſt night of their encamping there[o]. They were not yet recovered from the fatigue and diſtreſs, with which they had been ſo ſorely aſſaulted before. Their ſpirits therefore were more ſuſceptible of ſorrowful impreſſions, from any unfavourable incident that ſhould happen to them. A fall of ſnow was juſt ſuch an incident as that. It was naturally indeed to be expected there, at this late ſeaſon of the year; into which Hannibal had been thrown by the various obſtacles, that he had been forced to encounter, and by the long liſt of ſtates, that he had

[m] Martyn p. 20.

[n] Polybius iii. 54. Τῆς δὲ χιόνος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς ἄνωθεν ἀθροιζομένης; Livy xxi. 35. "Feſſis tædio tot malorum, nivis etiam caſus."

[o] See the Sequel.

been

been obliged to traverſe. It was at a point of the year, preciſely diſtinguiſhed by the ſetting of thoſe ſeveral ſtars in the neck of the conſtellation Taurus, which the Greeks called Pleiades and the Romans Vergiliæ; which riſe in the ſpring, appear through the ſummer, but ſet in the end of autumn, and ſo form that arc of the year's circle, as it were, which is marked to men in Europe by ſoft airs, bright ſkies, and warm ſuns. "On the *twentieth* and *twenty-firſt* of October," ſays Columella, "at ſun-riſing the Vergi-"liæ *begin* to ſet; *this betokens ſtorms.*" But "upon the *twenty-eighth*," he adds, "the Vergiliæ ſet; *win-*"*ter comes with cold and ice.*" So ſpoke to the Romans that family Oracle, that domeſtic Lar of antient and of modern days, the Almanack [p]. We hence know the very exact time of the year, in which Hannibal made this part of his march; and even the very week, in which he croſſed St. Bernard. "The "ſetting of the Pleiades now *approached*," ſays Polybius; "the ſtar of the Vergiliæ was now *ſetting*," adds Livy [q]. Hannibal was upon the ridge of the Alps, between the TWENTIETH and TWENTY-EIGHTH of

[p] See the Roman Almanack in Grævius viii. 134. There we have theſe words of Columella on the 20th, "hôc et ſequenti "die, ſolis exortu, Vergiliæ incipiunt occidere; tempeſtatem "ſignificat." On the 28th, we have theſe from Columella: "Vergiliæ occidunt; hiemat cum frigore et gelicidiis."

[q] Polybius iii. 54. Διὰ το συνανατελλειν τὴν τῆς Πλειαδος δυσιν; Livy xxi. 35. "Occidente jam ſidere Vergiliarum." Mr. Hampton i. 361: "it was now near the time of winter." Such is the verſion, indefinite, looſe, vague, and impertinent! Had not Mr. Hampton

of OCTOBER; a period very late for an army, for even a traveller, over this bleak and lofty Atlas of Europe.

"The Alps," obſerves Polybius, "on their tops "and on the parts adjoining to the paſſes, are all per- "fectly bare of trees and naked in themſelves; *be- "cauſe the ſnow lies upon them continually, both ſummer "and winter*[r]." This account however, though given by an author who had actually travelled over the Alps, is confuſed, exaggerated, and falſe. The preſent hiſtory ſhows it to be ſo. There was no ſnow even on the top of Great St. Bernard, when the Carthaginians firſt encamped upon the ground of it. What ſnow they had, was ſuch as fell after their arrival. Nor is the naked aſpect of the hills confined to the tops, as Polybius intimates, but, as I have already ſhown, extending ſome miles down the aſcent. Yet ſuch is the propenſity of mankind to exaggerate, that modern, that philoſophical writers have ſpoken nearly in the ſame extravagance of lan-

Hampton learning enough, to *circumſtantiate* this note of time? Or did he wiſh to diveſt his author, of all appearance of learning? He ſhould certainly have been as *particular*, as Polybius.

[r] Polybius iii. 55. Των γαρ Αλπεων τα μεν ακρα, και προς τας υπερβολας ανηκοντα, τελεως αδενδρα και ψιλα παντ' εστι, δια το συνεχως επιμενειν την χιονα, και θερους και χειμωνος. "For the tops of the "Alps [and the parts adjoining to the paſſes], which are cover- "ed through *all* ſeaſons with *perpetual* ſnows, produce neither "tree nor paſture" (i. 364). The negligence of the author is as great, as his wordineſs.

guage.

guage. Thus even he whom we muſt in ſtrictneſs of preciſion, though with ſome harſhneſs of diction, call the Lapidary Naturaliſt of the Alps, talks of the ſnow on Great St. Bernard, as "almoſt always" ſurrounding the lake there, and "almoſt always" adding to the darkneſs of its deep waters[s]. But both he and Polybius unite to ſtrangle the falſehood, which both have combined to generate. The hiſtorian ſhews his philoſophy to be falſe, by his narrative; though he had not the judiciouſneſs, to rectify that by this. He proves no ſnow to have been upon the ground, when the Carthaginians encamped on it; by the terrour which (as I ſhall ſoon ſhow) he relates a fall of it to have occaſioned in them, during their ſtay. Great St. Bernard, adds the naturaliſt in another place, "is *very near*," and conſequently not *within*, not *at*, "the boundary of eternal ſnows; *be-* "*cauſe* it is commanded by the *Sommités*, which, "*being raiſed much above the boundary*, remain *eternally* "*covered with ſnow*, and *continually* chill all around "them[t]." Though the elevation of the paſs over Great St. Bernard is ſo very high, yet it is overtop-

[s] Sauſſure iv. 225. "Un petit lac, qui paroit noir à cauſe de ſa "profondeur, et ſurtout à cauſe des neiges dont il eſt preſque "toujours environné."

[t] Sauſſure iv. 241. "Sa poſition eſt tres-voiſine du terme des "neiges eternelles, parce qu'elle eſt dominée par des Sommités, "qui etant fort elevées au-deſſus ce terme, demeurent eternelle- "ment couvertes de neige, et refroidiſſent continuellement tout "ce qui les environne."

ped

ped by pikes, which are no leſs than 1500 feet higher than it, and are covered with perpetual ſnow in every part, where the ſteepneſs will permit the ſnow to lie [u]. So over-heightened are all accounts of this paſs, that place perpetual ſnows upon it; when in fact the paſs is juſt as Hannibal found it on his arrival, free from ſnow itſelf, though bordered by ſnow upon the lofty *ſpires* of mountain on each ſide! But, from *that* very near accumulation and *this* perpetual continuance of ſnow, the air of the mountain muſt neceſſarily be very ſharp, and the rains of winter muſt begin to deſcend early in ſnows. Another circumſtance alſo concurs, to lend a greater ſharpneſs to the air at all ſeaſons. The long, narrow valley, in which the buildings, the lake, and the plain are ſituated, lies nearly north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, in the general direction of the Alps here, and conſequently in the courſe of the very winds too; the latter always following the line of great mountains, and ſweeping with their currents along the ſides of that lofty barrier, which obſtructs their proper courſe [w]. From both theſe cauſes the ſuperior inhabitants of the hill, who have gardens on ſome petty platforms, in the moſt ſheltered ſpots between the rocks that the neighbourhood will furniſh; find it difficult to make them produce by the end of Auguſt, ſome lettuces and ſome cabbages of a ſmall ſort, a little ſpinage, and a little ſorrel. Even theſe they cultivate more

[u] Martyn 11. [w] Sauſſure iv. 241.

for

for their own amuſement in the labour, and from the pleaſure of ſeeing ſome vegetation upon the hill; than for any real utility, which they derive from them. They are therefore obliged to fetch all their neceſſary proviſions, from the ſcreened vallies below[x]. In one valley, a little below, but upon the aſcent of the hill; which is open to the north, but cloſed on the other quarters, and enjoying the warmth of the ſun only for a few moments in a day; a quantity of ſnow fell ſome years ago, that continued unmelted for ſeveral ſummers, and the mountaineers apprehended would turn into a very Glaciere[y]. On St. Bernard itſelf, the thermometer deſcends even in ſummer, and almoſt every evening in it, nearly to the freezing point. On the 25th of September 1783, a whole month earlier than the time of Hannibal's paſſage over it, the glaſs deſcended to this point, and all the hill was covered with new ſnow; though on the very ſame day it ſtood in a town of Italy immediately below, at ſixteen degrees above the point. It even deſcends below, whenever the wind comes round to the north[z]. In the very height of ſummer, in the very noon of day, the ſmalleſt breath of a northerly wind brings with it a cold exceedingly ſevere. On the 1ſt of Auguſt 1767, nearly three months earlier than Hannibal's

[x] Sauſſure iv. 242 and Martyn 20—21.
[y] Sauſſure iv. 266.
[z] Bourrit iii. 274, and Martyn 20—21.

paſſage

paſſage over the mountain, and at one o'clock in the afternoon; the thermometer in the open air, though the ſun was hid only by ſome ſlight, paſſing clouds, and frequently ſtruck upon the ball, was yet one degree below the point; and all the water upon the hill was cruſted over with new ice [a].

All this natural coldneſs of the air, ſo formidably heightened to Hannibal by the actual commencement of winter; and the variety of new dangers, with which this dangerous paſs is *then* accompanied; have produced an addition of accommodation for travellers, which even the Romans, in all their attentions to their roads, never provided [b]. Chriſtianity

[a] Sauſſure iv. 241—242.

[b] M. Bourrit iii. 271, and M. Sauſſure iv. 225, have fixed here a kind of hoſpitable houſe, "un hoſpice," for travellers in the time of the Romans; but without any, the ſlighteſt, authority for their conduct. M. Sauſſure fixes it avowedly, as M. Bourrit fixes it ſeemingly, with the temple on the plain of Jupiter; but neither notices any remains of *that*, though the latter does of *this*. If it had ſtood anywhere, we may be ſure it would not have been upon the bleak plain, but in the ſheltered town. It did not exiſt at all; and the fancy of its exiſtence is only a faint reflexion, from a real one that was founded afterwards; like the gleam of the Alpine ſun in Auguſt, weak in its power, and only mocking us with its luſtre. The fancy was juſt lively enough to form an aſſertion, but too feeble to venture on a proof. It therefore ſerves uſefully to ſhew us, how free and raſh in their averments even philoſophical writers can be at times; perſuading themſelves of the *probability* of a point, and then affirming the *reality* of it. "Ce qu'il y a de plus *certain*," ſays M. Bourrit, "c'eſt qu'il y "avoit *un hoſpice* pour les voyageurs, et un temple dedié au Dieu "Pennin." Or, as M. Sauſſure adds, "on paſſe au plan de Ju-"piter,

anity alone could have prompted and invigorated the human mind, to provide this. That elevated ſpirit of charity, which has multiplied poor-houſes and propagated hoſpitals all over Chriſtendom; houſes of benevolence, ſuch as Romans in their higheſt refinements ſo little knew, that they have no appropriated word in their language to ſignify either[c]; proceeding in the ſame career of humanity, has ſettled a CONVENT at the old town, dedicated to St. Bernard, ſo extending its own appellation to the hill itſelf, and calculated for the relief of wretched travellers. This has now turned the whole town of the Gauls and Romans, into an inn, a hoſpital, an infirmary for them. The monks of this convent aſſiſt travellers with a care and a cordiality, that do infinite honour to the inſtitution and to themſelves, that ſweep away at once all our Proteſtant prejudices againſt monks, and exhibit *theſe* to us as the moſt beneficent beings of our race.

There are ordinarily between twenty and thirty monks belonging to the convent, the number not being abſolutely fixed; eight of them are uſefully

" piter, *ainſi nommé à cauſe* d'un temple et *d'un hoſpice*, qui *exiſtoit* " *là du temps des Romains.*"

[c] The word uſed in the middle ages, *Spittal*, and the word now uſed, *Hoſpital*, are not to be found in the language with this ſenſe to them; *Hoſpitium* being merely an inn, and *Hoſpitiolum* a ſmall inn, ſtill retained in their native ſignification, by our old *Hoſteller* for an innkeeper, and by our new *Hotel* for an inn.

diſperſed

diſperſed among the Alpine pariſh-churches, that are under their patronage; and ten or twelve are conſtantly reſident here, being ſuch as, from their age and health, are able to bear the keen atmoſphere of the mountain. The few others, who can no longer bear it, are permitted to reſide with the aged *Provoſt* of the whole, in a houſe which belongs to the convent, and is ſituated at Martigny below[d]. The monks of the mountain are employed in a manner, of which Britiſh Proteſtantiſm, removed from the ſight of ſuch inſtitutions, and naturally warped with its own prejudices, has no conception; in the proſecution of their private ſtudies, in the inſtruction of their *novices*, in the education of ſome ſcholars who are ſent to board and lodge with them, and in managing the temporal œconomy of the whole. They have a *Prior*, the deputy of the Provoſt, and the governor of the convent in his abſence; a *Sacriſtan*, who takes care of their chapels, and whom we have equally among ourſelves, but have degraded into a mere ſexton, the humble toller of bells, and the low digger of graves; a *Cellarer*, ſuch as the kings of Scotland uſed to have under the ſame title, and our kings ſtill retain under that of gentleman of the cellar, but, in the more contracted ſtate of monaſtick than royal houſholds, acting in a more extenſive capacity, and ſerving as purveyor, comptroller, ſteward too, by ſuperintending the proviſions of the kitchen,

[d] Sauſſure iv. 237.

and managing all the exterior concerns of the monaſtery; a *Clavandier*, who keeps the keys, and diſpenſes the articles wanted to the monks and to the travellers; and an *Infirmier*, who takes care of the ſick in the apartment appropriated to them[e]. The cellarer keeps twenty horſes conſtantly employed during the ſummer, in fetching the magazines of flower, bread, cheeſe, liquors, and dried fruits, for themſelves and their gueſts; or forage for their milch cows and fatting cattle; during the winter. Their firewood, of which they expend a very great quantity, is brought them on the backs of mules, from a diſtance of four leagues, and by a ſteep path that is practicable only for ſix months in the whole year. Then, before the winter ſets in, they ſend down their horſes for the ſeaſon, to a farm which they have on the northern ſide of the Rhone[f].

But it is peculiarly pleaſing to a tender mind, to note the uſeful ſolicitude of theſe amiable monks, on ſuch days as the paſs is moſt frequented; in perſonally receiving, warming, and recovering travellers, that are exhauſted by their exceſs of fatigue, or indiſpoſed from the ſeverity of the air. With equal eagerneſs, they attend their own countryman and a foreigner. They make no diſtinction of ſtate, of ſex, or of religion; and aſk no queſtions, concerning

[e] Sauſſure iv. 247, 236—237.

[f] Simler 82, Sauſſure iv. 242, Bourrit ſii. 270, Martyn 21.

the

the nation or the creed of the wretched. Their wants or their ſufferings are, what primarily entitle them to their care. Yet, in winter and in ſpring, their ſolicitude has a larger ſcope of activity, and takes a wider range of attention. From that very time nearly, in which Hannibal carried an army over Great St. Bernard, and at which the Romans reckoned the general winter of Italy to commence, from the 1ſt of November through the winter, to the 1ſt of May; a truſty Alpine ſervant, who as an Alpine is denominated a MARONNIER, and one or two dogs of an extraordinary ſize with him, are conſtantly engaged in going to *meet* travellers, a conſiderable way down the deſcent toward the Vallais, even as far as St. Peter's[g].

Theſe dogs poſſeſs an inſtinct and receive a training, which fit them to be peculiarly uſeful in their employment. They point out the road to the guide and the travellers, through fogs, tempeſts, and ſnows. They have alſo the ſagacity to diſcover tra-

[g] Sauſſure iv. 237—238, "juſqu' à la moitié de la deſcente," corrected thus in 244—245, "juſqu' au bourg de St. Pierre, qui "eſt *preſque* à la moitié de la hauteur de cette montagne;" and wrong in both places, as St. Peter's is only *nine* miles from the ſummit, and the whole aſcent is twenty-four. See alſo Bourrit iii. 273, and Martyn 20. Simler 82 ſays, that they go to meet travellers "ab utrôque montis latere." So they did in his time, we may be ſure from his teſtimony; but, as we have ſeen, they do not now.—For *Maronnier*, ſee a note at the end of the chapter.

vellers, that have wandered out of the way, have floundered in the drifts of ſnow, and are lying wearied, exhauſted upon them. But, what forms a wonderful addition of kindneſs, the monks often go themſelves with the guide; in order to ſee aſſiſtance more promptly adminiſtered to the unfortunate, and to act occaſionally as friends to the ſoul equally with the body. Even when the guide is not ſufficient of himſelf, to ſave the unhappy traveller from periſhing; they run to his aſſiſtance themſelves, ſupport him with their own arms, lead him with their own hands, and ſometimes carry him up to their convent upon their own ſhoulders. They are often obliged to uſe a kind of friendly violence to him, when he is benumbed by the cold or worne out by the fatigue. He then inſiſts upon being left to reſt, or even to ſleep, for a moment upon the ſnow. The torpid influence of the cold is ſtealing upon him, renders all motion unpleaſant, and is gently carrying the ſleep of death from the extremities to the heart. The monks know this; and the very thing which he diſlikes, they know to be the only means of ſaving him. They are therefore compelled to ſhake the traveller in his deadly doze, and to drag him by force from his fatal bed of ſlumber. They thus expoſe themſelves to all the ſeverities of the weather, in order to ſave others. They neceſſarily ſuffer much, in the work. At times, when the quantity of ſnow upon the ground prevents them from walking faſt, and ſo their bodies are not properly warmed with their

their own motion; their extremities would congeal with the cold, before they perceived their numbneſs. They are therefore obliged to carry ſhort thick ſtaffs with them then, armed at the ends with iron; and to ſtrike their hands and feet with them, continually [h].

They even ſtretch their exertions of humanity, beyond all this. About three miles below the convent on the road of Hannibal's aſcent, they have built a ſmall vaulted room, that is called the hoſpital. This is intended for the caſual refreſhment of travellers, benumbed with the cold, and unable to reach the convent. The truſty *Maronnier* viſits it frequently, in order to meet the traveller; but goes principally at the approach of night; and, when he ſets out on his return, leaves ſome bread, cheeſe, and wine behind [i]. This man even ſallies out extraordinarily, when a ſtorm is juſt over, with his ſtock of wine and meat; takes his way to the building, and aſſiſts all that he finds diſtreſſed [k]. The monks themſelves alſo may be frequently ſeen on the tops of their rocks, watching to do offices of humanity. They turn their view eagerly on every ſide, endeavour to ſpy out the diſtreſſed, and fly to their ſuccour. When the new ſnow is deep upon the ground, they appear making roads through it, run-

[h] Sauſſure iv. 238—239, and Simler 293—294 additionally for this fatal tendency to ſleep upon ſnow.

[i] Sauſſure iv. 267—268. [k] Martyn 20.

ning to the ſounds of diſtreſs, and preventing fatal accidents by charitable vigilance[l].

But notwithſtanding all theſe glorious exertions of humanity, upon the hill which Hannibal traverſed ſo late, as the beginning of winter and the very falling of the ſnows; ſcarcely a winter paſſes over this mountain, in which ſome traveller is not brought to the convent, with his limbs frozen into abſolute inactivity. In theſe moments, the uſe of ardent liquors is exceedingly dangerous, and often occaſions the death of the traveller. He thinks to warm himſelf, with drinking that modern production from wine by the fire of diſtillation, that general *ſtimulus* on any common impediments of the circulation, in wine countries, or in countries bordering upon them; *Brandy.* The potion does in fact communicate a warmth and an activity to him, for ſome moments after he has drunk it. The efficacy is too ſtrong, and the potency too great, not to be felt. But the potency and the efficacy form the baneful nature of it, in that ſtate of the applicant. Accordingly this force upon the ſpirits is ſhortly followed, with a debility and a faintneſs that are abſolutely incurable. In the frozen and rigid ſtate of the veſſels, the ſudden impulſe given to the current breaks down the banks, and deſtroys the navigation[m].

[l] Bourrit iii. 269—270. [m] Sauſſure iv. 239.

Yet

Yet the zealous benevolence of theſe monks does all, that can be done by benevolence and zeal united; when they have to combat with ſuch lofty mountains as theſe Alps, and to ſtruggle with ſuch angry elements as are upon them. They almoſt riſe, into a complete ſuperiority over both. They particularly do ſo in ſome caſes, that are ſtill more deſperate and dreadful than all the reſt. The traveller is ſometimes overwhelmed at once, and plunged into the body of a mountainous ſnow-ball. When he is not very deep, the dogs diſcover him by the ſcent; but when any is miſſing, whom *their* ſagacity cannot penetrate far enough to diſcover, the monks engage in a laborious office themſelves. They range upon the ſnow, and ſound it with long poles. The reſiſtance, which they feel at the end, tells them deciſively, whether it is a rock or a body that they ſtrike. If it is a body, they inſtantly clear away the ſnow over it, and bring the perſon to air and life again. They have been the means of reſcuing many in this way, from the very jaws of death[n]. The amazing ſweep of deſtruction, which theſe *globes of ſnow* frequently carry with them, may be ſufficiently eſtimated from one of them; that fell upon a party of Swiſs ſoldiers marching over the Alps, and buried no leſs than *ſixty* of them in its vaſt bulk[o]. But to be more particular, as particularity is the ſoul of deſcription to a being formed like man; and to ſhow

[n] Sauſſure iv. 240. [o] Simler 289.

the

the dangers more ſtrikingly, to which Hannibal and his men were expoſed; I will relate an anecdote of what happened lately, on the very paſs over Great St. Bernard. In the year 1781 ſome travellers attempted to paſs the mountain, when the ſnows had fallen. They could not be induced to ſtay by the obliging monks, more wary than they concerning the weather, and more experienced about the road. Theſe, finding their efforts to detain them unavailing, ordered their ſervants to prepare for conducting them along the paſs. The travellers however, without waiting for their guides, took the road from the convent towards Italy, and went along the ſide of the lake, about nine in the morning. In ſuch a road and at ſuch a ſeaſon as that, travellers ſhould always keep themſelves cloſe to each other; to be more in a ſtate of general reſiſtance againſt the ſnowballs, and to be more capable of lending or receiving aid in ſtruggling out of the ſnows. But this precaution was totally neglected by the travellers, in their impatience to puſh on; and they marched in a file, one after the other, with a conſiderable interval between ſome of them. In this diſpoſition, and when they had but juſt wiſhed each other a happy journey, a ſnowball flew with the rapidity of lightning from one of the pikes on their right, and burſt in an inſtant deſtruction upon their heads. At the noiſe which this made, the prior of the convent opened haſtily his window, threw his eye in a glance along the road, and, ſeeing no appearance of the travellers,

lers, at once took in the whole calamity. He immediately gave an alarm to the houſe, the inhabitants all aſſembled, the long poles were taken in their hands, and they ruſhed out in a hurry, unchecked by the danger of being loſt themſelves. What an affecting ſpectacle does this exhibit to us; men who encounter the greateſt difficulties, who fear not even death itſelf, in order to ſave the dying. With very great difficulty, theſe good fathers had the happineſs to recover from the ſnows, the greateſt part of the travellers. Theſe were carried to the convent, and brought back to life by the care that was taken of them. Three alone periſhed; and their bodies were not found till two months afterward, when the ſnows melted [p].

But let me here notice one particular concerning this convent, that is neceſſary to the very authentication of ſuch extenſive charities. The poor and the rich, ſays M. Bourrit, "are here received "*gratis*[q]." M. Sauſſure alſo relates, without any diſtinction of the rich from the poor, that the convent "exerciſes a hoſpitality ſo extended and ſo ex-

[p] Bourrit iii. 118—120. Simler 290 ſays: "ſi is qui nive "obrutus eſt, manus ſub nive non prorſus indurata movere, et "aliquid ſpacii circa faciem excavare poſſit; aliquam ſub nivibus "reſpirandi facultatem nanciſcitur, atque in alterum et tertium "etiam diem ſub nivibus vivere poteſt."

[q] Bourrit iii. 370. "Les uns et les autres y ſont recus "*gratis*."

"penſive

" penſive *gratuitouſly*[r]. Thus charity is magnified, till it becomes a paradox, incredible in itſelf, and impoſſible to be imitated. Let me therefore bring down this benevolence from the clouds, in which it is ſo injudiciouſly placed by both thoſe writers; and place it where it ought to ſtand, upon the earth. Simler enables me to do this effectually. The monks, he tells us, " give food *gratis* to the *poor*; the *rich* make " *preſents for their reckoning*, each according to his " own inclination[s]." This mode of acting ſpeaks for itſelf. Simler ſhews what Meſſrs. Sauſſure and Bourrit conceal, the *propriety* of ſuch charity, and the *practicability* of it in ſuch circumſtances. All that are able to make the monks a pecuniary compenſation, do ſo; but are delicately left to conſult their own feelings, and from theſe to determine equally the act and the degree of recompenſe. They thus form an additional fund, for extending the charity to thoſe travellers, who really need it. Benevolence then wears the face of wiſdom, and walks upon the earth, though ſhe lifts her head to the ſkies:

Ingreditúrque ſolo, et caput inter nubila condit.

" I myſelf," notes M. Sauſſure, " in paſſing the " mountain met two Swiſs ſoldiers, who, going the " year before in the ſpring to rejoin their regiment " in Italy, had been froſt-bitten in their hands; whom

[r] Sauſſure iv. 235. " Exerce gratuitement une hoſpitalité " auſſi etendue et auſſi diſpendieuſe."

[s] Simler 83. " Pauperibus *gratis* victum dant, opulentiores " (ſuo quiſque arbitratu) ſymboli loco munera dant."

" the

" the monks recovered, and kept ſix weeks at the " convent, without requiring the ſlighteſt return " from them[t]." What is true charity and benevolence to the poor, would be a waſte of charity and a prodigality of benevolence to the rich.

This it was abſolutely requiſite to aſcertain, as Hannibal's paſſage is very much frequented ſtill; particularly, at the fairs holden in Lombardy, at the conventions of the States of the Vallaiſans in May, and during a ſcarcity of corn upon one ſide of the Alps, with an abundance of it on the other[u]. During ſuch a ſcarcity in 1771 and 1772, which reached over a part of France and the whole of Switzerland, a very conſiderable quantity of wheat and rice came from Italy by this road. *Three hundred mules* were then ſeen in a *day*, loaded with corn, and croſſing the mountain[w]. But, even in the ordinary ſtate of paſſage, no leſs than *ſeven or eight*

[t] Sauſſure iv. 240. " I' ai moi-même rencontré, en paſſant la " montagne, deux ſoldats Suiſſes, qui l'année precedente, en " allant au printemps rejoindre leur regiment en Italie, avoient " eu les mains gelées; et que l'on avoit guéris, et gardés pendant " ſix ſemaines au convent, ſans exiger d'eux la moindre retribu- " tion."

[u] Sauſſure iv. 246. " The " ſemeſtres" in Sauſſure here are the diets, which are thus deſcribed by Simler 25: " Nomino " hìc Senatum, quem vulgò vocant *des landts raadt*; hic, more " majorum, quotannis bis convocatur, Maiæ et Decembri menſi- " bus; quo tempore, ex ſingulis pagis bini et nonnunquam terni " legati conveniunt, idque Seduni in caſtro Majoriæ." See alſo Coxe i. 381.

[w] Sauſſure iv. 244.

thouſand

thouſand perſons croſs the hill every year. The number of travellers therefore, who have been aſſembled in the convent at once, has been very conſiderable. There was one ſingle evening of 1782, in which they amounted to *five hundred and ſixty-one*; when three ſacks of corn, twenty ſheep, and four oxen, could hardly furniſh proviſions ſufficient for them. They have even amounted at times, to *ſix hundred*[x]. Theſe travellers too have been all compelled by the badneſs of the weather, to continue two or three days in the convent, before they could venture to reſume their journey[y]. With ſuch a hoſt of viſiters, a prudent œconomy in the management of their funds, and a diſcriminating generoſity in the diſpenſation of them, muſt be abſolutely neceſſary.

The whole building is a long ſquare, conſtructed of ſtone, and devoid of ornament. The church, the dining-hall, the bedrooms for the poor, and the kitchen with its great fires, are on the ground-ſtory; while the bedrooms of the monks, and chambers for paſſengers of diſtinction, are in the ſtory above[z]. Theſe with their chapel at a little diſtance, the houſes for their numerous attendants, the ſtables for their own horſes and the horſes of travellers, the ſheds for their milch cows and fatting cattle, the garners for all their proviſions, the ſlaughter-houſe, the larder, the brew-houſe, the bake-houſe, the

[x] Bourrit iii. 274.

[y] Simler 295, and Bourrit ii. 118, "le troiſieme jour."

[z] Sauſſure iii. 225, Bourrit iii. 270.

wood-

wood-houſe, and all the other appendages neceſſary to ſuch an eſtabliſhment of family, and ſuch an inundation of gueſts; muſt conſtitute an Alpine town of themſelves. There all the ſtrangers are received, lodged, and entertained, in the moſt liberal and yet the moſt un-affected manner; equally without one trace of oſtentation, and yet with an air of courteous cordiality[a]. Such a ſober and ſteady emanation of Chriſtian charity, have we here before our eyes! The monks of Great St. Bernard, indeed, appear as the heroes of beneficence to the Chriſtian world. They were firſt fixed here in the fourth century probably, when the firſt St. Bernard (as I have previouſly ſuppoſed) took down the ſtatue of Jupiter in the temple, and left his own name inſtead of Jupiter's to the mountain. This name was certainly impoſed, before the days of Bernard abbot of Clairvaux, and even before the time of Bernard the founder of this convent. Thus Hartman, almoner of *St. Bernard's monaſtery*, was made biſhop of Lauſanne in 851; Valgaire, *abbot* of *Mont Joux*, had a decree pronounced againſt him by Lewis the Pious, in 832; and Lothaire the II[d]. king of Lorraine, in ceding Geneva, Lauſanne, and Sion to his brother the Emperor in 859, particularly reſerved *the hoſpital of St. Bernard*[b]. There was conſequently a hoſpital, an abbey, or a monaſtery, upon the ſummit of Mont Joux, and dedicated to St. Bernard, as early

[a] Sauſſure iv. 266, 242, Bourrit iii. 270, 280.

[b] Simler 83 and Sauſſure iv. 230—231.

as that period[c]. But then this was only a convent in the uſual ſtyle, like the convent on St. Gothard and other heights of the Alps at preſent. It was a monaſtick ſociety ſequeſtered peculiarly from the world, by being placed upon the creſt of this very lofty mountain; peculiarly raiſed above the world, by being exalted into the region of the clouds; and ſubjected to the ſevereſt of all diſcipline, by being expoſed to perpetual cold and buffeted with eternal ſtorms. But, in the tenth century, the common idea of a convent was dilated and enlarged, by the expanding vigour of a ſingle mind. A man of the ſacred order, that order (let one of its members ſay) of inſtituted and of actual, of great and of general, beneficence to mankind; one BERNARD MENTHON, archdeacon of Aoſta, conceived the magnificent project, of making this convent eminently ſerviceable to the intereſts of humanity. He broke in upon the reſtrictions of the cloiſter, to admit the viſits of Charity into it. He threw open the painted window (as it were) in the chapel of the monk's devotions, and let in the cheering ſun of beneficence upon him. While he ſtill left him at times to his ſequeſtration,

[c] Sauſſure iv. 231 is weak enough to ſuppoſe, that the hill *might* take its name from Bernard, the uncle of Charlemagne, and the commander of a detachment that paſſed this way, in Charlemagne's expedition againſt the Lombards; without once reflecting, that this Bernard was no ſaint, either in real or in popular hiſtory. The calendar of the church would be greatly over-ſtocked indeed, if the commanders in war were to be all marked with the red letters of ſaint-ſhip.

his

his clouds, and his prayers; he drew him off, like an angel ſent from heaven in attendance upon man, to ſee the miſeries of the world beneath him, to feel for its ſorrow, and to act for its conſolation. He gave the monks a capacity and a command, to relieve the diſtreſſes of all the numerous travellers, that went by this grand, this principal road in and out of Italy. Such was the happy power of Chriſtianity, in one good head and good heart! A character like this is as great in genius and in underſtanding perhaps, as a Hannibal himſelf; and is certainly greater, in moral dignity. Yet a world, that is fond of its deſtroyers, looks up with ſuperior admiration at a Hannibal than a Bernard, mounted as they both are now upon the ſame creſt of the Alps. A comet is ſtared at with amazement, while the ſun is beheld with indifference.

The ſame power of Chriſtianity occaſioned this archdeacon, to fix alſo ſome monks under an equal obligation of beneficence, upon Little St. Bernard; that *facellum* to the temple of Jupiter before, and that *cell* probably to St. Bernard's monaſtery afterwards. But the road over Little St. Bernard being not much frequented in Menthon's days, any more than it is in ours; being then, as now, frequented only in the fineſt ſeaſon of the year, and only by ſuch Savoyards as have buſineſs in the vale of Aoſta; he ſettled only *two* of his monks upon *this* hill, while he eſtabliſhed a *number* upon *that* [c].

[c] Sauſſure iv. 232, and Bourrit iii. 258, 256.

pointed out the neceſſity of communicated power and counter-checked authority, waſted the eſtates of the convent in a ruinous magnificence of luxury. In this manner did the monks loſe their property in England, the Low Countries, Poland, and Sicily. In 1587 indeed they ſurpriſingly recovered from the pope, their right of nominating their own provoſt, and ſo preventing the utter abſorption of the convent in the provoſt-ſhip. They were thus happy, and continued ſo for a century and a half. Then a diſſenſion aroſe among themſelves, concerning this very nomination; which ended in the loſs of other eſtates to them. So cloſely interwoven with miſery, are many of the threads of human life! They were Swiſs, they were Savoyards, in their chapter. Theſe quarrelled nationally; the ſlighteſt ſtraw ſerving man at times, as a ground of conteſt. Their quarrels even reached their reſpective nations, and the governors on both ſides took part in the conteſt. The ſovereign of Savoy claimed the power of nomination himſelf, under a papal bull of ſo old a date as 1451; in bar of this the Vallaiſans, and their allies of Switzerland, alledged other bulls of a later date (as nothing but a bull could counteract a bull, even in this wane of papal authority), which gave the election entirely to the chapter. The point was referred to Rome, the iſſuer of both the bulls; and the buſineſs was agitated there for a period, almoſt equal to the length of a chancery ſuit among ourſelves, no leſs than ſeventeen years. In 1752 the chapter was victorious,

victorious, but the king of Sardinia took an ample revenge for his defeat; depriving the convent of all their eſtates in his dominions, the original donations of their founder probably. Yet the king did not, with a proteſtant ſpirit of ſacrilege, either attach them to his crown or diſpenſe them to his nobles; but transferred them only to another corporation of charity, to the order of Hoſpitalers of St. Maurice and St. Lazare. The pope's decree, indeed, that gave *them* the victory, authoriſed *him* to take the revenge; the king's right of nomination, I ſuppoſe, being founded on the fact of Menthon's being his ſubject, and Menthon's endowment being in his dominions; and theſe being conſidered as revocable, when that was refuſed. By this means, the convent at the preſent day poſſeſſes only ſome lands and ſome rents, in the Vallais and the canton of Berne; the canton having too much reſpect for humanity, to deprive *ſuch* a convent of its eſtates within it. The funds of the monks, therefore, are wholly inſufficient; and they themſelves are obliged to depend upon contingent charities. Contributions are accordingly allowed to be made for them, during four days of every year, in the republicks of Berne, Friburg, Geneva, and in the principality of Neuchatel; but at more diſtant periods, in the other cantons of Switzerland. The king of France too, with a generoſity that does honour to the crown, officially conſiders himſelf as their patron, and ſends them donations; as if the paſs over Great St. Bernard was

ſtill, what we have ſeen the road over the Pennine Alps to have been, the one only avenue out of France[g]. The Proteſtants alſo of Switzerland and the Vallais, unite with the Papiſts of France and of their own country, in ſupporting by their mutual aſſiſtance ſuch a cloiſter of Chriſtian and Practical Philoſophers[h].

So ſtrongly has Europe atteſted in every age of eſtabliſhed Chriſtianity, and ſo ſtrongly does it continue to atteſt, the great importance of that paſs over the Alps, and the formidable dangers attending that road up them, which Hannibal uſed in his expedition! Yet I have two or three notices more to produce, which heighten the dangers and enhance the formidableneſs ſtill more. I will juſt produce them, and then purſue the narration again.—Directly to the ſouth of the convent, ſhoots up one of the lofty ſpires of the ſummit. This frequently diſcharges its growing burden of ſnows, upon the very convent itſelf. Snows have ſometimes fallen from

[g] I thus ſpeak of the *king* of France, as ſtill exiſting: the republick, that production of the groſſeſt and moſt pompous perjury, which has riſen up like a puffball from a dunghill in the dark, being ſure in every hiſtorical view to diſappear as ſuddenly as it ſprung, to ſpend itſelf in its own emiſſions of ſmoke and ſoot, and ſo reſolve into its generative dung again.

[h] Bourrit i. 30, 93, 94. iii. 274—275, and Sauſſure iv. 232—236. *Before* this diſpute it was, I apprehend, that the monks ſent their *Maronnier* "ab *utrôque* montis latere" to meet travellers (Simler 82); and it is *ſince* this diſpute, I believe, that they do ſo on the *Northern* ſide only.

it in ſuch a volume of bulk, as reached up to the roof of the building. But, what is more remarkable, when the ſnow falls it gives that violent concuſſion to the air, which throws all the doors of the convent off from their hinges[i]. Some winters too the cold has been ſo ſevere at the convent, that the thermometer has ſtood at twenty or two and twenty degrees, below the freezing point. This violent exceſs of cold, however, has been only for a day or two. But in the winter of 1784, which was very long and very ſharp in our own iſland, and in that warmeſt, perhaps fineſt, part of it, the ſouthern ſhore of Cornwall; the glaſs ſtood conſtantly *for ſix weeks together*, at eighteen or nineteen below. Even on the twelfth of March, it was at ſixteen, a half, and ten lines, below. During this extreme frigidity of the air, the very chambers of the monks, that had no fire in them, kept the glaſs ordinarily at ten or twelve[k]. Yet the monks live here during ſuch winters as theſe, of eight months too in continuance, and in a ſolitude for thoſe months, which is interrupted only by ſuch alarming incidents as that, by the ſufferings of over-venturſome travellers, and by their own endeavours to ſuccour them at the hazard of their lives. The gloom of their minds, however, muſt be more affecting than the dangers of their bodies. They throw their eyes around them, and ſee nothing but a wild waſte of ſnow, rocks ſhoot-

[i] Bourrit iii. 272—273. [k] Bourrit iii. 273—274.

ing up barren and brown in the midſt of the dreary white, and a black lake of water always half frozen over. Their health is affected by this long continuance of cold and gloom. Catarrhs, gout, and rheumatiſm attack them[l]. What therefore can induce men of a creditable rank in ſociety, to reſign themſelves up to a life ſo ſorrowful and ſo painful? What but that ſtrong ray of religion, which Chriſtianity is ever bringing from heaven to earth; which, in its higheſt illuminations, has produced confeſſors and martyrs; in its loweſt, is always exalting the ſoul above ſenſe; and, in its influence between both, is making even Alpine ſnows, the cold of a Greenland, and the diſmalneſs of a Nova Zembla, to be voluntarily ſuſtained through the greateſt part of life, in the certainty of reward from the awful Father of the world, at his period of general retribution, and on his eſtabliſhment of final felicity[m]. Yet, as I am almoſt ſorry to add at the cloſe, with all the aſſiſtance that compaſſion and power can lend in the perſons of theſe monks; the paſſage is ſo terrible in winter, and *ſo much frequented even then by travellers*, that many periſh every year. The numerous bodies of the dead, that are not owned or recogniſed, are melancholy evidences of the truth of this. Theſe are repoſited in one chapel at the hoſpital, and in another near the convent. There they lie extended upon the floor, with all their clothes upon them; the better

[l] Sauſſure iv. 242—243. [m] Sauſſure iv. 243.

to

to promote the recognition of them. The cold air preſerves them from putrefaction; and a body, that has lain there a couple of years, ſtill maintains all its diſtinguiſhing appearances. But the ſight is ſolemnly mournful, to a brother-ſharer in mortality. Nor can anything but that high elevation of ſoul, which looks beyond the cloud of mortality, and ſees the ſun of futurity ſhining bright behind it, bear without a ſhock to behold the ſcene [n]. Even ſome of the faithful dogs have periſhed, in their uſeful miniſteries to travellers. But, what is moſt melancholy for a generous mind to know, ſome of the very monks themſelves have loſt their own lives, in ſaving the lives of others [o]. Nor can I conclude this account of the convent and of the hill better, than by taking the ſhort but lively deſcription of both, drawn by a French traveller from his own feelings at the moment, and happily conveying his ſenſations to the minds of his readers. Journeying with company from Aoſta up to Great St. Bernard, and having every advantage of ſeaſon and of weather, he

[n] Sauſſure iv. 268, Martyn 29, and Bourrit iii. 280—281. Bourrit there ſays, that they thus keep the dead above ground, *becauſe* they have no earth to bury them in, "parce qu'il n'y a "pas de terre pour les enſevelir." But the true reaſon is, what I have aſſigned; as they actually bury their dead in this extraordinary manner. "Si qui hic moriantur," Simler ſays 83, "cùm "nihil terræ hôc loco ſit, in profundiſſimam foveam ruptæ gla-"ciei ſubjiciuntur: ea illorum ſepultura eſt." The chapel at the hoſpital, I ſuppoſe, is what is marked in the map of Sauſſure vol. iii. as "Cimetiere des paſſagers."

[o] Bourrit iii. 273.

thus breaks out on his entrance upon the ſummit of the mountain. "Curious to diſcover the ſituation "of the convent," then cries M. Bourrit, "we threw "our eyes on every ſide, and looked for this houſe "where it was not to be found: at laſt we diſcovered "it; and *I cannot ſpeak the ſenſations*, which *the ſight* "*of it made us feel.* What ſituation can be more "ſtrange than this! It appeared to my eyes, like "THE ARK OF THE DELUGE UPON THE MOUN-"TAINS OF ARMENIA, IN THE MIDST OF THE RUINS "OF THE WORLD [p]."

[p] Bourrit iii. 268. "Curieux de decouvrir la ſituation de "l'Hoſpice, nous les [nos regards] promenions de tous les cotés, "et nous cherchions cette maiſon là oú elle n'etoit pas. Nous "là decouvrimes enfin, et je ne puis dire les ſenſations que ſa vue "nous fit eprouver. Quelle ſituation plus etrange! elle paroiſſoit "à mes yeux l'Arche du Deluge, poſée ſur les montagnes de l'Ar-"menie, au milieu des ruines du monde."

"Inter alia mala," adds Simler, "frigus ingens his qui per "Alpes iter faciunt moleſtum eſt, præſertim flante Boreâ: "quare ſæpe multorum artus vi frigoris amburuntur, atque aliis "*nares* aut *aures*, nonnullis manuum aut pedum *digiti*, atque "etiam ipſi *pedes*, vi frigoris obſtupeſcunt et *pereunt*; multi *oculos* "ex *perpetuo nivium* uſu [viſu] *amittunt*. Adverſús hæc mala, "varia præſidia ſunt: *oculis* quidem, ut vel *aliquid nigri* præten-"*datur*, vel *vitrea conſpicilia quæ vocant*; reliquis membris, ut "pellibus craſſiſque veſtimentis bene contra frigus muniantur, "ac *chartâ ſcriptoriâ et membranâ* pectus *optimè* a ventis frigidis de-"fendunt: quódſi pedes obſtupuerint, *noctu* exutis calceis *gelidæ* "*aquæ immerguntur*, et *paulatim tepida affunditur*; ita enim reſti-"tui creduntur" (p. 292—293).

V. FROM

— V. —

FROM all theſe horrours upon horrours of an Alpine winter, and all theſe keen ſeverities of cold even in an Alpine ſummer, we ſee that Hannibal had been much favoured by the weather. Had the ſnow fallen five or ſix days before, and while he was entangled in the wilderneſs of the glacieres; he could not have found his way out to St. Peter's, and muſt have periſhed in the trackleſs deſert. Had it fallen ſix or ſeven days earlier ſtill, and before he had broke into the Alps, he would never have entered them at all. The ſight of the ſnow already lying on the hills, and the fear of what might be added to it the night following, would have preſented to the alarmed imaginations of his ſoldiery, the picture of mountains piled upon mountains, in order to fall upon their heads, and bury them in the midſt of their giant-operations. Nor would this have been a mere picture, as their Gallick guides could tell them of the rolling mountains of ſnow, that even then buried whole caravans of travellers at times [q]; and as we

[q] Strabo actually deſcribes them thus, iv. 314. Αι καλλισβαινουσαι πλακες των κρυσταλλων ανωθεν εξαισιοι ισυνοδιαν ολην απολαμβανειν δυναμεναι, και συνεξωθειν εις τας υποπιπτουσας φαραγγας; "the "vaſt plates of ice ſliding down from above, that are capable of "overwhelming a whole company of travellers, and of puſhing "forward in one maſs into the hollows below."

have

have previouſly ſeen ſnow falling on the 25th of September, when Hannibal was only marching up to the Rhone, even new ice encruſting the waters on the 1ſt of Auguſt, when Hannibal had not yet paſſed the Pyrenees. The lateneſs of the ſeaſon adds much to the dangers of the march, and ſhows in a ſtronger light the enterprizing vigour of Hannibal's mind. Yet he had not one of thoſe hardy, inſenſible, and arrogant underſtandings, that attribute their good fortune to the miniſtrations of their own wiſdom, and aſcribe their bad to unlucky events. His acts of devoutneſs in the temples of Jupiter Penninus and of Hercules, with his diſmiſſing prayer over his ſoldiery at the Rhone, as I have noticed before, ſhow him not to have had it. In the comprehenſiveneſs of his underſtanding he ſaw its narrowneſs; in the vigour of his ſpirit he felt its weakneſs, and therefore, in the wiſdom of humility, he referred the final ſucceſs of his exertions, to a wiſdom and a power infinitely ſuperior to his own. He muſt therefore have thought himſelf highly favoured by Heaven, that this year the winter did not come on till the end of October, till it was conſidered as coming regularly on, even amid the plains and in the very heart of Italy. Had it, his Carthaginians muſt have been compelled with ſhame and anguiſh to deſiſt from their attempt, to retire before the invincibility of winter, and to take up their quarters among the Gauls till ſpring. Thus would they have done, we may be ſure; as a ſingle ſhower of ſnow, and the firſt foul commencement of winter,

winter, actually carried a very great terrour with it to their hearts[b]; even though it found them victorious over all the difficulties of aſcent, ſtanding tiptoe and triumphant on the creſt of the Alps. So little reaſon had they to be alarmed, at a fall of ſnow now!

But the occaſional feelings of men, are ſeldom proportioned to their reaſonable expectations. They are peculiarly not ſo, when the mind has been previouſly preſſed upon by ſufferings. The ſoldiers awaked in the morning. They ſallied from their tents, all accoutered for their farther march. The day had juſt begun to break[c]. A wild and frightful appearance preſented itſelf to their ſight. They caſt their eyes around, above, and below them. The ſnow lay thick upon the plain, on the reſt of this long and narrow paſs, and on the ranges of rock upon each ſide of it. From their lofty eminence too, they could ſee the mountains below them, as far as their eyes could range, all covered over with ſnow, all made diſcernible by it through the grey and hazy light of the morning, and caſting a diſmal kind of dead reflection upon the half-enlightened ſky[d]. The paſt, the preſent, and the future, were united in their minds by their immediately intended march, and

[b] Polybius iii. 54. Ανσθυμως διακειμενα; Livy xxi. 35. "Ingentem terrorem adjecit."

[c] Livy xxi. 35. "Primâ luce."

[d] Polybius iii. 54. Της δε χιονος ηδη περι τας ακρας αθροιζομενης.

conſpired

conſpired to throw them into a deſpondency of ſoul[e]. In this ſtate of mind and ſpirits, they fell into their ranks on the ſnowy plain, and began to march along the ſnowy paſs; their eyes, every time they glanced around them, bringing in a mournful confirmation to their former feelings. A dullneſs appeared evident in the ſteps, a deſpair was marked ſtrong in the countenances, of them all[f]. Hannibal perceived both. He ſaw the terrour in their faces, as he had them all drawn up before him, and as he probably beheld their eyes haſtily thrown at the hills around, haſtily returning to look at their companions, communicating their own fears by their looks, then receiving them back with increaſe from the looks of the others. But he ſaw it additionally when they began their march, in the heavy pace with which they ſet out; their eyes, no longer under the inſpection of their general, now ranging freely to the right and left, I ſuppoſe; now reſting upon one rock of ſnow, now on another; ſeeing them cloſe to them on either hand, but feeling them cloſer from the march already begun; their nerves ſhrinking with the apprehenſiveneſs of their minds, their legs not ſtretching out to a full pace, and their lifted feet not

[e] Polybius iii. 54. Δυσθυμως διακειμενα, και δια την προγεγενημενην ταλαιπωριαν, και δια την ἐλι προσδοκωμενην.

[f] Livy xxi. 35. "Per omnia nive oppleta quum, ſignis— "motis, ſegniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et deſperatio in "omnium vultu emineret; Hannibal" &c.

lighting

lighting upon the ground again in a firm tread, to encounter this ſcene of Alpine and wintry terrours [g].

In ſuch circumſtances, a modern general would have ordered the ſoldiers to halt, and directed a dram to be given to each of them out of the ſtores; under pretence of fortifying their ſtomachs, againſt the raw cold air of the morning, the mountains, and the ſnows. He would never have had recourſe to an *oration*, as Hannibal had. Even under the high proſpects and exalting ſpirit of Chriſtianity, modern philoſophy has a ſtrange tendency to conſider man, one while as a mere being of reaſon, another while as a mere machine actuated only with life. All ideas of the magick power of eloquence over him, are diſcarded with the influence of magic itſelf; and man is left in war particularly, to be guided by a reaſon that is too impotent to direct, or to be compelled by ſenſations that are too blind to diſtinguiſh. The energy of the rational paſſions is not taken, into the moral eſtimate of man; and the power of that rational principle, the fancy, which, amid the agitating viciſſitudes of war, carries a conſiderable ſway with it, in admitting terrour or introducing animation to the heart of a ſoldiery, is never thought of. The great

[g] This incident with all its circumſtances is ſtated by Polybius iii. 54, to have happened the day before he marched, as Hannibal is ſaid to have begun his march τῃ δ' ἑπαύριον, or the day after all. But Livy's account, which is peculiarly circumſtantial and uſeful here, ſpeaks ſufficiently for its own truth.

generals

generals of antiquity appear, to have entertained more juſt and more raiſed conceptions of man. They applied themſelves to him, as a being compounded of reaſon, fancy, and paſſions, the middle principle partaking equally of the two extremes; and could thus wind up the feelings within him, to the livelieſt and happieſt energies of exertion. Hannibal did ſo. He ſaw the neceſſity, of an immediate application to their underſtandings and imaginations; in order to diſlodge the fear which their eyes had brought in, and to fix a hope fancy-formed and fancy-coloured in its place.

Hannibal appears peculiarly upon this occaſion, a man of high ſagacity, high addreſs, and high eloquence. He advanced to the front of his leading column. He took his ſtation there, ſays Livy, "on "a certain promontory, from which he had a proſ- "pect far and wide into Italy[h]." He ſtood undoubtedly at that extremity of the paſs, where the narrow valley terminates a gentle deſcent from the convent, the lake, and the plain; and the road begins to go down for Italy, in a path winding between the rocks[i]. At this the moſt ſouth-weſterly point of the whole paſſage, and on a projection overhanging Italy, he ſtood; while his army was moving towards

[h] Livy xxi. 35. "Prægreſſus ſigna, Hannibal in promon- "torio quôdam, unde longè ac latè proſpectus erat."

[i] Sauſſure iv. 225. "Un ſentier tortueux entre des rochers."

him.

him. Thence, as his van, his baggage, his main-body, came ſucceſſively up to the ground, and prepared to file off ſucceſſively by the path around it; he made them to halt, and pointed out the view of Italy to them. "He collected them together," writes Polybius, "and endeavoured to animate them; catching at the one expedient for doing ſo, the evidence of Italy before them: for Italy is ſo directly under theſe hills, that, in ſurveying both, the Alps take the figure to the eye, of being the citadel of all Italy. Wherefore pointing out to them the plains about the Po, recalling to their memories the complete friendlineſs of the Gauls who inhabited them, and at the ſame time pointing at the place of Rome itſelf; he" &c[k]. "He ſhews

[k] Polybius iii. 54. Επειρατο συναθροισας παρακαλειν, μιαν εχων αφορμην εις τουτο, την της Ιταλιας εναργειαν· ουτω γαρ υποπεπτωκει τοις προειρημενοις ορεσιν, ωστε, συνθεωρουμενων αμφοιν, ακροπολεως φαινεσθαι διαθεσιν εχειν τας Αλπεις της ολης Ιταλιας. διοπερ ενδεικνυμενος αυτοις τα περι τον Παδον πεδια, και καθολου της ευνοιας υπομιμνησκων της των κατοικουντων αυτα Γαλατων, αμα δε και τον της Ρωμης τοπον υποδεικνυων κ. τ. λ. "Annibal therefore had recourſe to the only expedient "that remained, to raiſe their drooping courage, [the evidence "of Italy before them]. He aſſembled the troops together; and "from the ſummit of the Alps, which, when conſidered with "regard to Italy, appear to ſtand as the citadel of all the country, *pointed to their view* the plains beneath that were watered "by the Po; and reminded them of the favourable diſpoſition," the complete friendlineſs, "of the Gauls [inhabiting thoſe "plains] towards them. He *ſhewed* them alſo the very *ground*, "upon which Rome itſelf was ſituated" (1. 362).

"them Italy," adds Livy, "and the plains about the "Po that lie under the Alpine mountains[1]." I have *tranſlated* both theſe paſſages, and tranſlated them *literally*; becauſe the incident has been the ſubject of a written controverſy, and the terms are occaſionally preſſed into the ſervice in converſation.

There are men, men eminent for learning and for judgment, men even meriting highly from the world of letters; who have been weak and wild enough, to think of aſcertaining the courſe of Hannibal from this petty event thus briefly deſcribed, and ſo applying their foot-rule to the menſuration of a mount Caucaſus. "At preſent," cries M. Dutens in his French Itinerary, after much confuſion and much miſtake concerning Hannibal, "if we pay attention "to the famous circumſtance reported by hiſtorians, "that Hannibal, to encourage his ſoldiers, made "them remark from the top of the Alps *the beauties* "of the country, which they were going to conquer; "*we can fix the very point, from which he ſhowed* "*them the plains of Italy:* for all the Piedmonteſe "officers, who have ſeen ſervice upon the Alps, have "aſſured me; that in all the Alps there is only one "mountain, cloſe by the Col de Feneſtrelles, from "which it is poſſible to ſhow the plain of Lombardy

[1] Livy xxi. 35. "Italiam oſtentat, ſubjectoſque Alpinis mon-"tibus Circumpadanos campos."

"to

" to an army[m]." Such is this new-invented ſcrew, that is to have the power of moving the whole current of hiſtory, raiſing it from its native bed, and throwing it upon a diſtant hill! But the potency of the ſcrew is greater in reputation, than in reality. In fact it is not the ſcrew of Archimedes, but that of a man ignorant of the laws of hydraulicks, a mere country-pumpmaker. I am ſorry to ſay this of ſuch a man; but M. Dutens, ſo great in ſcience, is little in hiſtory. He has never conſidered the incident in Polybius and Livy, and never weighed their language concerning it. He takes it for granted, that Hannibal actually made his ſoldiers to *ſee* the plains of Italy, even to remark the *beauties* of them; and in this is moſt egregiouſly deluded. He might equally take it for granted, that Hannibal made them alſo *ſee* " the very place of Rome itſelf," and alſo *remark* the *beauties* of *it*; when it was at the diſtance of four hundred miles. Polybius indeed uſes two words a

[m] Itineraire des routes les frequentés, ou Journal de pluſieurs voyages aux villes principales de l'Europe, depuis 1768 juſqu'en 1783. Cinquieme edition. 1786. *Pour etre placé en face du Lac de Traſyméne.*—" A preſent, ſi l'on fait attention à la fa-" meuſe circonſtance, rapportée par les hiſtoriens, qu' Annibal, " pour encourager les ſoldats, leur fit remarquer du haut des " Alpes, les beautés du pays qu'ils alloient conquerir, on peut " fixer le point même, d'ou il leur montra les plaines d'Italie; " car tous les officiers Piemontois, qui ont fait la guerre dans les " Alpes, m'ont aſſuré, qu'il n'y a dans toutes les Alpes qu'une " ſeule montagne, prés du Col de Feneſtrelles, d'oú l'on puiſſe " montrer à une armée la plaine de Lombardie."

little different, for the indication of the two objects; Hannibal in the narration ενδειχνυμενος or "pointing "out" the plains of the Po, and υποδειχνυων or "point-"ing at" the place of Rome. But the words are apparently ſo near related, that the ſhade of difference between them, which I have endeavoured to expreſs as faithfully as ever I can by ſome ſimilar terms in Engliſh, is all imperceptible to the common eye. Learning however loves often to take a microſcope in its hands, and then to fancy a difference which it cannot explain. To ſuch criticks of the "microſcopic eye," we may anſwer with a deciſive brevity; that Livy, as good a judge of Polybius's greek as any modern, and a better judge of this Alpine view than even M. Dutens himſelf, *uſes one and the ſame word* for indicating *both* objects; and makes Hannibal "ſhew" both "Italy *and* the plains about the Po," "Italiam *oſtentat* ſubjectoſque Alpinis "montibus Circumpadanos campos." Hannibal thus ſhewed the plains of the Po, only juſt as he ſhewed the ſite of Rome. So little need is there, of changing our Great St. Bernard for any other mountain!

The real "mount of ſpeculation" indeed may be any, from which a Hannibal could pretend to ſhew equally the plains of the Po and the ſite of Rome. Only it muſt be, what M. Dutens ſtates it in expreſs language to be, but what in act he moſt contradictorily makes it *not* to be, a hill on "the *top* of the "Alps."

"Alps." His anonymous hill near Col de Feneſtrelles *certainly is not this.* In the diſtinctneſs of viſion ſuppoſed and ſought, this commanding circumſtance has been entirely forgotten; and the grand reality of all has been ſwallowed up, in attention to a point merely imaginary.

An eagle, towering in its pride of place,
Is by a mouſing owl hawk'd at and ſlain.

To prove this, I need only repeat a part of the Roman *Iter*, which I have formerly given at full length; "Brigantionem m. p. xviiii," Briancon, "In Alpe "Cottiâ v," Mount Genévre, and the *top* of the Cottian Alps, "Ad Martis m. p. xxiv," Oulx, "Seguſionem m. p. xvi," Suſa, "*Fines* m. p. xxxiii," *Feneſtrelle*, and "Taurinos m. p. xviii," Turin [n]. Thus are we carried from the *ſummit* of the Alps, where M. Dutens himſelf places us, by ſome unperceived manœuvre of magical criticiſm, that involves M. Dutens as well as ourſelves, to a hill at the *bottom* of them; Feneſtrelle appearing from its name and its poſition, to ſtand at the Italian *foot* of the Alps, like Suſa, and, like it, to be *not* in the *Alps* but in *Italy*. The magick therefore is exerciſing its frauds to a vaſt extent, annihilating the Alps entirely, and mounting us upon a hillock of Italy in their ſtead [o].

[n] Chap. i. Sect. 2.

[o] See alſo map of Savoy &c. in maps for Mod. Un. Hiſt. in which the bounding line of Italy even now runs from mount Viſo northwards, leaving Feneſtrelle and Suſa equally on the right, and at an equal diſtance from it.

All this is the reſult of that primary and violent abſurdity, which had put others before upon ſelecting other hills for this ſuppoſed viſion. But no plains of the Po can be *ſeen*, from the *top* of the Alps; any more than the ſite of Rome can. The *top* of the Alps is raiſed too high above the clouds, to admit any view at all of any land in Italy. We are told indeed, that Great St. Bernard affords a very extenſive proſpect over this country [q]. So it undoubtedly muſt; but then the proſpect is one of indiſtinctneſs, of fogs, and of fancy only. Five or ſix miles *below* St. Bernard, we reach the region of the clouds as we aſcend [r]; and the view from St. Bernard itſelf, therefore, can be only a view of clouds. We have accidentally a delineation of it from a writer, who looked down upon what he knew to be Italy but could not ſee, from one of the pikes of the mountain; who could not behold more from the pike than from the

[p] A hill near mount Cenis, I think, has been ſelected by Lalande or ſome ſuch traveller. Simler ſelects mount Genévre, or mount Dennis near it. "Polybius refert, et Livius quoque, Annibalem in ſummâ Alpe, ut animos militibus adderet, oſtendiſſe illis Italiam et ſubjectos Alpibus Circumpadanos campos: ſed ex jugis Penninis hæc non poterant cerni: poſſunt autem hæc demonſtrari ex jugis Genebræ aut Dionyſii," he thus contradicting M. Dutens directly as to the main point, the point of viſion, "quæ ambo per proximas valles rectà Taurinum deducunt." P. 220.

[q] Keyſler i. 174.

[r] Bourrit iii. 267. "Arrivés à St. Remy,—bientôt nous atteignîmes la region des nuages." See the next ſection for the miles.

paſs,

paſs, as he was equally above the clouds in both places; and on whoſe receptive mind, as on the ſheet in the *Camera Obſcura*, all the moving pictures in nature exhibited themſelves, not inverted, not altered, but in their native poſition, and with their original vivacity. "Italy engaged our attention moſt "ſtrongly," he ſays, "from the croud of mountains "with which the horizon was filled," and which could have appeared through the clouds, only like ſo many iſlands emerging from the waſte of waters: "the eye could not count them; they were even "ſinking away," like iſlands vaniſhing from view in the rotundity of the ocean, "to the diſtance of "fifty leagues; and the tints upon them were fading "off according to their gradation" of diſtance, "from the moſt vivid to the moſt faint: but the "picture" even of theſe high prominences among the clouds, theſe iſlands amid the waſte, "was often "veiled over to us by the clouds, that roſe from *the* "*bottom of the plains*; theſe reſembled the ſmoke of "a country on fire; ſome flew in plattoons, others "advanced in line of battle, all the atmoſphere was "alive, and the clouds might be ſaid to act under "the direction of ſome chief, who preſided over "their rapid marchs." And, if this be the only perſpective

s Bourrit iii. 277. "L'Italie, oú nous portâmes nos regards, "les attacha plus fortement, par la foule de montagnes dont cet "horiſon etoit rempli; l'œil ne peut les compter; on les voit "s'abaiſſer à la diſtance de cinquante lieues; et leur teinte ſuivre

perſpective that nature lays before the eye in the very height of ſummer, what muſt it have been in the foggy extremity of Autumn? What but clouds rolling over clouds, daſhing like ſo many billows againſt each other, breaking on the lower ſides of the mountain, and preſenting nothing to the eyes of Hannibal and his ſoldiery, but a ſeeming ocean of agitated waters, that had drowned the whole world below?

Let me add however, what precludes all poſſibility of interference, in Col de Feneſtrelles or any hill near it, in the Cottian Alps or in the Graian, with the pretenſions of the Pennine. The *weſtern* Alps look only acroſs the *breadth* of Italy, and can profeſs to ſhow only the *north* of it, from the ſource to the mouth of the Po. But the *northern* allow the eye or the fancy, and ſuch are often the ſame in bold ranges of geographical viſion, to ſweep all down the *length* of this ſingular peninſula, from the mountains at the head to the ſea at the foot of it. From Col de Feneſtrelles therefore, from any hill near it, from any part of the Cottian or the Graian, could *not* Hanni-

"leur gradation, de la plus forte à la plus tranſparente. Mais "ces tableaux nous furent bientot voilés par des nuages, qui "ſ'eleverent du fond des plaines. Ils reſembloient à la fumée "d'un pays embraſé; les uns voloient en pelitons, d'autres "ſ'avancoient en ordre de bataille; tout l'athmoſphere etoit "animé, et l'auroit dit, que ces nuages ſuivoient l'ordre d'un "chef, qui preſidoit à leur marche rapide."

bal,

bal, or any man in his ſenſes, PRETEND to ſhow THE SITE OF ROME. But Hannibal or any one might, from the Pennine. To the Pennine, have all the ſucceſſive parts of the narration led us before; our account, like the globe, being formed not of a ſingle atom, or of a few atoms accidentally jumbled together, but of a vaſt number, all united in agreement of parts with parts, all compacting and confirming each other, and all combining to make one regular, ſolid world of hiſtory.

From the top of Great St. Bernard then, and from the ſouth-weſterly projection over Italy there, did Hannibal, with the Gallick embaſſadors at his ſide probably, point out to his ſoldiers through the clouds immediately under their feet, the plains of the Po at the baſe of the hills; and remind them, of the complete friendlineſs of the Gallick inhabitants towards them. He then pointed out to them even the very poſition of Rome itſelf, at the diſtance of four hundred miles, and in ſome bright ray perhaps iſſuing from a very diſtant cloud. They had already, he ſaid, "ſcaled the walls of Italy, and even of Rome "too; all the reſt of their expedition would be a "level and downhill march; and one battle, or at "moſt two, would throw the citadel and capital of "Italy into their hands[t]." This artful addreſs to

[t] Livy xxi. 38. "Mœniaque eos tum tranſcendere, non Ita-"liæ modò, ſed etiam urbis Romanæ; cetera plana, proclivia "fore; uno aut ſummùm altero prælio, arcem et caput Italiæ in "manu ac poteſtate habituros."

them

them derived its principal power, from the ſcene directly under their eyes, either in reality or in fancy. They beheld Italy, as it were, beneath their feet. They caught an imaginary glimpſe of Rome itſelf. They derived a fire from the proſpect. All was wonderful about them, and conſpired to give the congenial ſublimity of wonder to their minds. Their fancies kindled, their hearts warmed, their countenances brightened, and they went down the deſcent in raiſed ſpirits [u].

[u] Polybius iii. 54. Επι ποσον ευθαρσεις επομενοι τυς ανθρωπυς. "They were in ſome degree recovered from their fears" (i. 362); a mode of expreſſion very different from Polybius's, who ſpeaks not negatively but poſitively, and ſays Hannibal thus made them "in ſome degree animated." Livy xxi. 35. "Procedere inde agmen cæpit." Livy gives no noticed efficacy to this famous ſpeech, but Polybius does.

In order to juſtify a clauſe or two in my text a few paſſages preceding, I muſt here notice at ſome length one circumſtance concerning the Alps, that is conſtantly miſ-underſtood. "The "inhabitants of *mount Cennis and the neighbouring mountains*," ſays Keyſler, "are called *Marrons* or *Marroniers*. But there is not any "certainty, of the origin of that name. Some derive it from a "crew of pyratical *Moors*, who, in the reign of the emperor Leo "the philoſopher, being ſhipwrecked upon the *coaſt* of *Provence*, "betook themſelves to the Alps," the *Maritime* therefore of courſe, greatly to the ſouth of mount Genévre, and more greatly to the ſouth of mount Cenis; "where they lived by robbing. "The valley of *Maurienne*," which is far from the Maritime Alps and near mount Cenis, "is ſaid to have been their chief "haunt, and *from thence to have taken its name*. At laſt they diſ-"perſed, and by degrees left their ſavage way of living. This "throws a light upon what the maps of this country call, *La "deſcente des Marroniers*, i. e. the Marrons landing" (i. 234). This is a ſtrange account, full of falſe geography, clogged with

plain contradictions, and telling a tale without beginning, middle, or end, in probable or real authenticity. The whole indeed is founded on a groſs miſtake. *Marron* or *Marronier* is actually the general, the native, the appropriate title, of *all the Alpine inhabitants*; thoſe "agreſtes prævii," as Marcellinus calls them, who were uſed as guides over the Alps in his time (L. xv. c. 10. p. 108). We actually find them ſo called, not only about mount Cenis, but alſo at the diſtance of Great St. Bernard. "The truſty Alpine ſervant" of the convent, whom I have noted in my text, "as an Alpine," to have been "denominated a Ma-"ronnier;" is in Sauſſure iv. 138 "un domeſtique de confiance, "qui ſe nomme *le Maronnier*." In the valley of Aoſta too, on the Italian ſide of theſe Bernardine Alps, ſuch as are afflicted by the epidemical malady of the Alps, are equally denominated *Marons* (Sauſſure iv. 171). Nor is the appellation a recent and a late one; whatever Keyſler may pretend in that ſort of half-learning and half-ignorance, which is frequently queſting for antiquarian truths among the vulgar, and almoſt always queſting for them amid much confuſion and much blindneſs. It is noticed even ſo early, as the year 750; when in the life of Odo abbot of Cluny we are told by John his biographer, that, on the return of the abbot from Italy in winter, he was conducted for hire over the ſnowy Alps by "*Marrones*, genus quoddam homi-"num." Odo himſelf, in his prior life of Gerald Earl of Orleans, notes the "*Marrunes*, rigentes Alpium incolas;" and ſays they often carried, at an expenſive rate, the baggage of Gerald over the Alps, as he was on his way to Rome. Rodulph alſo, who writes the Acts of the abbots of Trudon and of himſelf, before the very early year 560; notices the "*Marones*" of the Alps, as "viarum præmonſtratores" or "Peregrinorum duces;" and deſcribes with particularity their caps, their gloves, their buſkins, and their long ſpears (ſee a curious note in Marcellinus ibid.). But on what part of the Alps did theſe very early *Marons* inhabit? Did *they* inhabit mount Cenis and its vicinity? Or did *they* inhabit the Maritime Alps, to give ſome colour to the landing of Moors upon the coaſt of Provence, and diſperſing themſelves among the Alps adjoining? All of them probably, and two of them certainly, dwelt about *Great St. Bernard*. The baggage of Gerald is ſaid expreſsly to have been carried by theſe Alpine porters, "per juga *montis Jovini*" or over mount Joux. Equally are the mountaineers of Rodulph aſſerted, to have been

"Marones

"Marones *Montis Jovis*" (ibid.). The name has therefore been appropriated to the natives of the Alps, for more than *twelve hundred years*; and firſt became known to hiſtory as the title, not of the inhabitants of mount Cenis, not of the dwellers among the Maritime Alps, but of the natives of Great St. Bernard. So effectually is Keyſler's *kitchen-tale* of etymology demoliſhed! But, after all, what is the real import of a name, the origin of which is carried ſo very high? This it is difficult, and yet I think poſſible, to aſcertain. The natives are called *Marrons* or *Marroniers*; and a range of hills is ſtill denominated *Maurienne* or *Morienne*. The name therefore was originally a national appellative; uſed by their neighbours, and acknowledged by themſelves. It meant only the mountaineers; *Maur* and *Mor* in Britiſh ſignifying *Great*, thence ſtanding for the *ſea* in Welch, and for a *mountain* in Saxon; and the French ſtill retaining the word in the popular dialect, among their provincials in France, and their coloniſts in the Weſt-Indies, a word utterly unknown to their dictionaries, in *Morne* for a mountain, in *Morne* Tortueſon, Gros *Morne*, and *Morne* Garnier of Martinico, *Morne* Rouge of Guadaloupe, &c.; juſt as our old *brandy-wine* is preſerved ſtill in the name of a river, within our American colonies. This gives a juſt and appoſite meaning to the name at once, and the *Marrons* or *Marroniers* appear to have been only the mountaineers. But the meaning afterwards changed, from the robberies made by theſe highlanders upon their lowland neighbours; juſt as *brigant* has reſolved itſelf for the ſame reaſon in the French language, into *brigand* a robber, *brigandage* a robbery, *brigantin* originally (as is plain from the analogy) a robbing veſſel, now any veſſel, and the Engliſh *brig*, a veſſel rigged after a peculiar, perhaps a robbing, manner. Tradition, as we ſee from Keyſler above, has preſerved the memory of their "piratical" life, and of their "living by robberies" upon the Alps. The place in Provence too, that is marked in ſome "maps" I know not what, as "the "deſcent of the Marroniers;" can only be the ſcene, of ſome plundering deſcent from the Alps. The French accordingly call a miſcreant a *marane*, and a knave a *maraud*; and call going to plunder, "aller à maraude." Some of our own Engliſh ſailors too, from the licentious practices of our juſtly boaſted ſeaman Sir Francis Drake, I believe; and from the more licentious *buccaneering* of ſome of Cromwell's Jamaica deſperadoes, I fancy; uſed in a ſimilar ſenſe, but with a ſtill greater appoſiteneſs to the preſent

preſent point, to talk with high glee of going a *marooning* on the Spaniſh main, to the very beginning of the preſent century. Even in ſo late a work as "a narrative of the dangers and diſtreſſes "which befell Iſaac Morris," &c. "of the Wager ſtoreſhip," in Anſon's voyage to the South-ſea 1739; we find the author obſerving in p. 15 thus: "we could not help looking on it as the "greateſt act of cruelty, thus to *maroon* us," by robbing them of their ſhare of proviſions in the ſchooner, and leaving them on a deſolate coaſt. There are words in all languages, I ſuppoſe, that never entered into the compoſition of a dictionary, remain fugitive and evaneſcent in vulgar converſation or vulgar writing, and are only caught accidentally in either by the glancing eye of an etymologiſt.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

— I. —

HANNIBAL has now ſet off on his march from Great St. Bernard, towards the plains of the Po beneath him. But to what particular point in thoſe plains, is he tending? He went, ſays Livy expreſsly, "into the country of the Taurini," whoſe capital was TURIN; "a nation, the very next to the Gauls "of the Alps, when he had deſcended into Italy [a]." This, he adds, "is agreed upon by all [b]." He therefore wonders at thoſe, who bring him over the Great or the Little St. Bernard, becauſe the road over either would have carried him, "not into the coun-"try of the Taurini, but through that of the moun-"taineer Salaſſi to the Libui Galli [c];" that is, would have

[a] Livy xxi. 38. "In Taurinos, quæ Gallis proxima gens "erat, in Italiam digreſſo."

[b] Livy xxi. 38. "Id quum inter omnes conſtat."

[c] Livy xxi. 38. "Non in Taurinos, ſed per Salaſſos montanos, "ad Libuos Gallos deduxiſſent."

have taken him to the left of his actual courſe, and turned him from the line to Turin by carrying him towards Vercelli. The neighbourhood of TURIN therefore, according to Livy and to all his authors, is the immediate object of Hannibal's arms at preſent. But what ſays Polybius to this? He ſeems to ſay ſomething very different, as he brings Hannibal down from the Alps, into the country of the *Inſubres*[d]; who were even more to the left than the Salaſſi, and therefore *more* out of the line to Turin. Their capital was Milan[e]; which, by the Roman routes that I have produced to my reader before, is forty-nine or fifty miles to the left even of Vercelli[f]. How then are theſe ſeeming oppoſitions of authority, to be adjuſted; and into what region of the Po did Hannibal actually come, immediately on his deſcent from the Alps? To aſcertain this, I muſt go back a little in the courſe, and up the current, of the hiſtory.

We have already ſeen Livy, conducting the Bituriges of France over the Pennine Alps, making them the Inſubres of Italy, and founding Milan by them. We have alſo ſeen Livy, carrying the Cenomanni of France equally over the Pennine

[d] Polybius iii. 56. [e] Pliny iii. 17.

[f] Ptolemy ii. 22. "Vercellas ....., Laumellum 26, Ti-"cinum 22, Mediolanum 22;" and by a nearer way, "Vercellas "....., Novariam 16, Mediolanum 34," or (as in another Iter) "33."

Alps,

Alps, and ſettling them to the *eaſt* of Milan, on the ſites of Breſcia and Verona. Livy indeed ſays, that theſe Cenomanni ſeized the region belonging to the Libui[g]; but this is one more of Livy's geographical miſtakes. Both Pliny and Ptolemy concur to give the Libui a different poſition, and to fix them at Vercelli on the *weſt* of Milan[h]. Even Livy himſelf concurs with them, in another place[i]. The truth is, that Livy in the former paſſage has confounded the Libui and the Cenomanni together, and made *thoſe* the predeceſſors of *theſe*; when the Cenomanni dwelt about Verona and Breſcia, to the *eaſt* of Milan, and the Libui about Vercelli, to the *weſt*[k]. We have alſo ſeen Livy bringing over the Salluvii of Marſeilles, and ſettling them "near that antient nation "the *Lævi* Ligures, who inhabited about the river "Ticino[l]." Livy thus fixes the Salluvii, where he had juſt fixed the Cenomanni before; ſo corrects the miſtake, without knowing it; and adds a contradiction to the errour, without being conſcious of it. "Of the Ligures," notes Pliny, "the *Levi* and "Marici founded *Pavia*, not far from the Po[m]."

[g] Livy v. 35. "Locos tenuêre Libui."

[h] Pliny iii. 17, Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 71.

[i] Livy xxi. 38. "Per montanos Salaſſos ad Libuos Gallos."

[k] Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 71.

[l] Livy v. 35. "Propè antiquam gentem Lævos Ligures, inco-"lentes circa Ticinum amnem."

[m] Pliny iii. 17. "Ex quibus [Liguribus] Levi et Marici "condidêre Ticinum, non procul a Pado."

But "*Vercelli* belonged to the *Libyci*," Pliny alſo remarks, "and was built by the Sallyi[n]." Cato affirms and Pliny denies, that the *Lybici* were Ligures[o]; but Cato is certainly right, theſe Libyci, Libyi, Levi, and Lævi (for the appellation is undoubtedly the ſame in all theſe variations) being expreſsly called Ligures by Livy above, being reduced by theſe Sallyi or Salluvii, and ſo giving them the name of Libui Galli[p], with the towns of Vercelli, Pavia, and Novara[q]. We have finally ſeen Livy carrying the Boii and the Lingones over the Pennine Alps, and, as all the country between the Alps and the Po was already ſeized, wafting them over the Po on floats, and driving with them both the Etruſci and the Umbri out of the country. Retaining ſome little vacancies of land, as I have previouſly ſhown, which they firſt found to the north of the Po, about Lodi and about Cremona; they now ſpread along its ſouthern bank, from Placentia to Modena[r]. In this diſpoſition of the Gallick colonies, the Boii ranged along the Po to the *eaſt*; had the Cenomanni and the Inſubres ranging eaſt and weſt, immediately on their *northern* frontier; and had the Libui Galli immediately on their *weſtern*. But from that very ſpirit of reſtleſſneſs, which had impelled theſe na-

[n] Pliny iii. 17. "Vercellæ Libycorum, ex Sallyis ortæ."

[o] Pliny iii. 17. "Libycorum —, non (ut Cato exiſtimat) Ligurum."

[p] Livy xxi. 38. [q] Pliny iii. 17, Livy v. 35.

[r] Livy xxi. 25.

tions

tions to leave Gaule, to ſcale the mountains, and to break into the new world beyond; they were ſoon diſſatisfied with what they had ſeized, and began to burſt in upon the neighbouring regions. The Boii, we have already ſeen, did ſo at ſuch an early period after their migration, as made Livy to conſider their ſettlement on the north of the Po, a point of time either imperceptible to the hiſtorical eye, or unworthy of notice from the hiſtorical pen. Only about two hundred years too after the firſt irruption of the Inſubres, and when even the Boii and the Senones were now come, we find them all united in warring upon their neighbours to the eaſt. "Cornelius Nepos has recorded," we hear at ſecond hand from Pliny, "that Melpum, a town diſtinguiſhed for "its opulence, was deſtroyed by the Inſubres, Boii, "and Senones, on the very day upon which Camillus "took Veii[s]." In the ſame ſpirit of reſtleſſneſs, expanding and dilating the ſphere of their reſidence, the Salluvii or Libui Galli had invaded the Taurini probably, "thoſe deſcendants from the antient ſtock "of the Ligures," as Pliny calls them[t], and made themſelves maſters of Turin[u]. Theſe ſuperinduced tribes had thus extended their dominions, before the

[s] Pliny iii. 17. "Melpum opulentiâ præcipuum,— ab Inſu-"bribus, Boiis, et Senonibus deletum eſſe eo die, quo Camillus "Veios ceperit, Nepos Cornelius tradidit."

[t] Pliny iii. 17. "Taurinorum, antiquâ Ligurum ſtirpe." So Strabo iv. 312. Ταυρινοι,— Λιγυστικον εθνος, και αλλοι Λιγυες.

[u] See the Sequel.

days of Hannibal, before the prior reduction of them all by the Romans, from the ſource nearly to the mouth of the Po[w]; and ſo formed a *cordon* of ſtrength acroſs the breadth of Italy, along the baſe of the Pennine Alps, that Hannibal might well indicate to his ſoldiers from the ſummit, as an object of high conſequence to them.

The general character of a nation occaſionally remains uniform and the ſame, through a courſe of ages; not from any influence of the climate, as the ſtupidity of thoſe mechanical philoſophers would ſuggeſt, who want to reduce ſentiment to ſenſation, and ſink ſpirit into matter; but from a cauſe hiſtorically philoſophical, the identity of the nation continuing un-violated in the maſs of the people, under all changes of appellation and all chances of revolution. This has been ſtrikingly the caſe, I think, with the inhabitants of France. One predominant ſpirit of making conqueſts, appears to have always actuated the great body of them, with many intervals and under many variations, through the long courſe of two thouſand years. *So early* do we ſee it ſtimulating the Gauls, to range and ravage and colonize half the

[w] Pliny iii. 17. "Auguſta Taurinorum —, inde navigabili "Pado;" Addiſon 438, "the Po is a fine river, even at Turin, "though within ſix miles off its ſource;" Miſſon i. 574, "one "might embark at Turin, and ſail directly and ſafely to Venice." All ſhews the antient Taurinum, to have been upon the ſite of the preſent Turin.

globe.

globe. They broke into Germany, they broke into Italy, they actually made their way into Greece, they actually cut themſelves a paſſage into Aſia. They ſettled in conqueſts, within all thoſe countries. In Italy particularly, they were juſt the ſame as they had been in France, ambitious, hoſtile, and invaſive. Not content with the ground of their firſt ſettlements, they ruſhed into the regions contiguous to it; and, in the very ſpirit of uſurpation with which they had made their ſettlements, enlarged the bounds of them. We ſee it again operating powerfully about a century ago, in the ſame rage of making conqueſts upon Spain, upon Italy, upon Holland, upon Germany; to raiſe an empire, that ſhould be ſuperior to all the nations of Europe, in its refinements of ſcience, of language, and of manners, while it was alſo to be the arbiter of their fates, by its energies in war, its ſkill in tacticks, and its expertneſs in engineering. We *now*, at *this* moment, ſee it again exerting itſelf with power under a new government, in a new form, but to the old purpoſe; amidſt ſchool-boy learning and ſchool-boy ignorance, that affect to *platonize* in politicks and to *atticize* in legiſlation[x], aſſuming to itſelf a profound knowledge in the fundamentals of both; by an acknowledged infraction of every treaty, by an avowed violation of every principle, by every reptile-trick of diſhoneſty, by every eagle-flight of flagitiouſneſs, aſſerting a general ſort of ſovereignty

[x] Plato has been called Moſes Atticizans.

over the nations around; breaking into Flanders, breaking into Germany, breaking into Savoy, and formally annexing all to their own country; even additionally declaring war againſt Rome, againſt Holland, againſt Britain, againſt Spain; and ſo ſtruggling to fix its mad, murderous, atheiſtical republicaniſm, upon the rights, the property, the religion of half Europe[y].

But

[y] We all know the ſpeech of the infamous Dupont, when he avowed himſelf an atheiſt to the National Convention; and when, inſtead of being kicked out of the aſſembly as a madman confeſſed or a villain acknowledged, a villain certain if he was not a madman, he was applauded by many. This was the firſt flaſh from the fires of the *loweſt* deep, that gleamed acroſs the iron features of thoſe profligate wretches. But the flaſh has been ſucceeded by many others ſince, till the whole circuit of France has appeared horribly illuminated with the blue flames. We have ſeen the ſame Convention voting, in the ſummer of 1793, that in the new Conſtitution, which theſe *changelings* were then forming for the *third* time, *there ſhould be no mention made of religion at all*, becauſe religion is *no part of a civil compact*. Even amidſt the childiſh parade of their national celebrities; amidſt their annual ſucceſſions of oaths all taken and all violated, to the firſt and to the ſecond Conſtitutions; amidſt the fraternal kiſſes given by the Preſident of the Convention, to *the heroines of the 5th and 6th of October*, thoſe heroines of hell, the ſavage, the Indian-like fiſh-women, who have been ſo juſtly held up to the execration of all mankind, by that provident and dignified friend to the conſtitution of his country, Mr. Burke: on the 10th of Auguſt 1793 the Convention, the Municipality of Paris, the Repreſentatives of all the 86 Departments, aſſembled with the citizens of Paris on the ground of the Baſtile; ſolemnly took water out of a well there, which in an impudent ridicule of Chriſtianity (I ſuppoſe) they called the Fountain of Regeneration; made a Heathen libation with it, by ſprinkling it on what they called the ſoil of liberty; and then, with all the ſpirit of ſome Heathen atheiſts of antiquity, did *not* adjourn, as even Heathen deiſts would have done, to offer

But after Hannibal had begun his march for Italy, had croſſed the Ebro in Spain, and was now at or near the Pyrenees; "all the intelligence which came "into

offer up their devotions to GOD in his own temple, but there, on the ſoil of liberty, ſung an hymn, *not* to the Jehovah of the Chriſtians, *not* to the Jove of the Heathens, *not* even to the un-defined, unnamed, unknown God of Nature, but to—NATURE itſelf, to the ſelf-created univerſe, to the brutiſh matter around them, hardly leſs religious or leſs rational than themſelves. After ſuch a ſweeping incident as this; after ſuch a national dance before all Europe, of fiends and ſatyrs united together, *theſe* playing their gambols of abſurdity to men, and thoſe

Hurling defiance tow'rds the vaults of Heaven;

we need not dwell on any leſſer facts. Yet, to ſettle the point for ever, let me mention a few more, one of which refers principally, but the others entirely, to the great maſs of republicans in France, and are to the everlaſting infamy of French republicaniſm. On Sunday the 25th of Auguſt 1793, a deputation of inſtruction (as it was called) coming to the bar of the Convention, one of the CHILDREN who accompanied it, was put to addreſs this believed aſſembly of atheiſts; and requeſted that children ſhould be no longer preached to, in the name of—what thinkeſt thou, O reader?—of kings or of prieſts?—of men or of angels?—no! of—can a *chriſtian* conceive it poſſible for a *child*, for a *man*, to have ſpoken the words?—of THE SELF-STYLED GOD, "ſoi-diſant Dieu," as I believe the words were, Him who calls himſelf God, Him who pretends to be what he is not, God. Even this aſſembly of atheiſts, who had acknowledged their atheiſm, and the atheiſm of their adherents, ſo publickly, ſo formally a few days before; were diſguſted at its diabolical appearance, when it was thus reflected back to them from the face of a child, and received the ſpeech with indignation. On the 7th of October 1793, the Committee of Vigilance (as a knot of *vulgar deſpots* is called) within the department of Paris, in the new phraſeology which theſe fantaſtical innovators have introduced, *denounced* to the council of the Commons at Paris, the judges of a tribunal of commerce for a

" into Italy," ſays Livy, " was what ſome embaſſadours " from Marſeilles brought to Rome, and was only " that Hannibal had croſſed the Ebro; yet, juſt as " if he had already croſſed the Alps, the Boii broke " out into rebellion, having firſt ſolicited the In-

crime; not againſt commerce, not againſt property, not againſt government, but againſt the liberties of man in conſpiracy with GOD; for *cauſing prayers to be made before them by a clergyman, every Wedneſday.* Struck with the *apparent* ſcandalouſneſs of this conduct in the tribunal, the committee *demanded* (ſuch is the adopted ſtyle of *civiſm* and *in-ſubordination!*) the diſplacement of the judges, and the ſubſtitution of others in their room, who would be genuine *ſans-culottes*, and not—*want to be enlightened by the invocation of the Divinity.* On the 21ſt of the *ſame* month, the *Procureur-Syndic* of the diſtrict of Tonnere informed the Convention by letter, that ſeveral *communes* of this diſtrict had reſolved, to have *neither maſſes, veſpers, nor other prayers hereafter,* to *aboliſh Sunday* as a day of religious exerciſe *for ever*, and *to ſubſtitute for it* as a day of reſt *every tenth day.* Theſe are horrible burſts of impiety indeed; yet even theſe will probably be ſuperſeded ſoon, by others more horrible ſtill.

> That of an hour's age doth hiſs the ſpeaker;
> Each minute teems a new one.

I go therefore at once to another fact, that is little known at preſent, and ſhall form my cloſing proof of the general, the pervading atheiſm of the French republick. A number of French being confined in June 1793 within the priſon of Tregellick near Falmouth, and employing the Sunday in the ſame ſtrain of profanation with the Convention itſelf, *this* in holding their ſeſſions, and *thoſe* in waſhing their linen; the commiſſary remonſtrated with them on their conduct, as offenſive both to GOD and man. But *they all replied with one voice*, that they would ſtill perſiſt in doing ſo, for—they FEARED NEITHER GOD NOR MAN. Such are the pigmy-giants of republicaniſm in France,

> Who dare defy th' Omnipotent to arms!

SUBRIS

"SUBRES to do the ſame[z]." But they had not merely ſolicited, they had actually induced them, to form a confederacy of rebellion with them. "The "Inſubres," as Polybius informs us, "from a pre-"conceived ill-will" againſt the Romans, "united "in heart and mind with the Boii[a]." One immediate object of their confederacy was, to ſend a joint embaſſy to Hannibal, to invite him into their country, and to conduct him over the Alps into it. Embaſſadours accordingly met him, at his paſſage acroſs the Rhone; who came expreſsly from the Boii, and had a king with them that was aſſuredly an embaſſadour from the Inſubres. Hannibal, as Livy tells us, was diſſuaded from engaging the Romans in Gaule, "by "the arrival of embaſſadours from the Boii, and of a "petty king called Magalus[b]." All "theſe," as Polybius ſays, "were petty kings" themſelves, "headed by Magilus[c]." Thus does the language of Polybius ſhow the embaſſadours of the Boii, to have been in the ſame rank of royalty with Maga-

[z] Livy xxi. 25. "In Italiam interim nihil ultra, quàm Iberum "tranſiſſe Hannibalem, a Maſſilienſium legatis Romam perlatum "erat; quum, perinde ac ſi Alpes jam tranſiſſet, Boii, ſolicitatis "Inſubribus, defecerunt."

[a] Polybius iii. 40. Παρακαλεσαντες δε τους Ισομβρας, και συμφρονησαντες [συμφρονησαντας] καθα την προγεγενημενην οργην.

[b] Livy xxi. 29. "Avertit a præſenti certamine Boiorum lega-"torum regulique Magali adventus."

[c] Polybius iii. 44. Τους Βασιλισκους τους περι Μαγιλον. "Magilus, "a petty king" (i. 344), as if there was only *one*, though the clauſe ſhows there were *ſeveral*.

lus;

lus; and yet Magalus to have been, at the head of the embaſſy. Theſe, adds Polybius, "came to "Hannibal from the plains upon the Po[d]." The Carthaginian, to improve the incident to the beſt advantage, and to impreſs the ſenſe of it livelily on the ſpirits of his ſoldiers, drew up his army in form; to ſee, to receive, and to hear them. A publick parade in admitting ſuch embaſſadours to an audience, would ordinarily be the mark of a little mind, pleaſed with its own ſignificance, and viewing itſelf with complacency in the glaſs of its own vanity. But the parade here anſwered an important purpoſe, on an expedition ſo bold, ſo grand, ſo novel, as this appears even to us, who are geographically familiar with the whole range of the march; and as it muſt have much more appeared to the antients, with whom the notices of geography were greatly confined, and to the ſoldiers of the antients, with whom theſe narrow notices muſt have been ſtill narrower. To introduce ſuch embaſſadours before the eyes of his ſoldiery, and to let his ſoldiery hear their addreſs to him; was to take off greatly the ſeeming wildneſs and eccentricity of his propoſed march, to familiarize the Alps to their minds, and to make them think of the Alps only as they had thought of the Pyrenees before. The embaſſadours accordingly made their addreſs to him by an interpreter, in the audience of all his

[d] Polybius iii. 44. Ηκον προς αυτον εκ των περι τον Παδον πεδιων, "Who had come to him from the *country near* the Po" (i. 344), from the *plains upon* it.

army.

army[e]. They adviſed him in the name of their reſpective ſtates, as we have previouſly ſeen, to decline all engagement with the Romans before he had entered Italy; they offered, as we have equally ſeen, to conduct him into it; and they additionally aſſured him of the readineſs of all their ſtates there, to join him with their forces, and co-operate with him in the war. Theſe overtures conſiderably animated the whole army. The ſoldiers ſaw embaſſadours before them, who invited them into Italy in the name of their reſpective ſtates; and offered to conduct them by a way, which they knew to be ſafe and ſhort. They ſhould find Italy, they aſſured them, a country large and fruitful; the Gallick inhabitants of it full of friendlineſs toward them, ready to ſupply them

[e] Polybius iii. 44. Δι' ερμηνεως τα δεδογμενα παρ' αυτων διεσαφει τοις οχλοις. "He introduced among them Magilus, a petty king, "*who* had come to him from the country near the Po, and *who* "now, by the help of an interpreter, informed the aſſembly of "all the reſolutions which the Gauls had taken in their favour" (i. 344). Mr. Hampton has here made an egregious blunder, and given to Magilus what belongs to Hannibal. The *latter*, not the *former*, "by an interpreter informs," not "the aſſembly," but τοις οχλοις or the ſoldiery. In the *Latin* indeed the point is obſcure: "regulum Magilum producit, *qui* e Circumpadanis cam-"pis ad eum acceſſerat; et per interpretem, quæ decreta fuerant "a Gallis, multitudini declarat." But in the Greek it is very clear: Εισηγαγε τους Βασιλισκους τους περι Μαγιλον, ΟΥΤΟΙ γαρ ηκον προς αυτον εκ των περι τον Παδον πεδιων. Thoſe actors are in the *plural* number, and the next actor is in the *ſingular*, και δι' ερμηνεως τα δεδογμενα παρ' αυτων διεσαφει τοις οχλοις. Hannibal had Magalus's offers repeated to him by an interpreter, and then rehearſed them himſelf to the ſoldiery.

with all ſorts of proviſions, and eager to ſhare their battles with them againſt the Romans[f].

But theſe Gauls of Italy had turned their arms upon each other, before the arrival of Hannibal in Gaule. Thus the Inſubres, the firſt of the Gauls who came into the country, attacked the Salluvii or (as they were now called) the Libui Galli; and reduced them together with the Taurini, whom *they* had reduced before. Yet on the Roman invaſion probably of the Inſubrian territories, and juſt before the war of Hannibal, the Taurini had ſeized the golden opportunity of retrieving their independency, and made a general inſurrection againſt the Inſubres. This is intimated by Polybius, when he ſays of the Taurini; that, at Hannibal's arrival among them, they were "in a ſtate of inſurrection againſt the "Inſubres[g]." This is again intimated by Polybius, when he aſſerts Hannibal, immediately on his deſcent from the Alps, to have "come down—to the plains "upon the Po, and the nation of the Inſubres[h]." The dominions of the Taurini had been previouſly made by conqueſt, the poſſeſſions of the Inſubres;

[f] Polybius iii. 44.

[g] Polybius iii. 60. Των Ταυρινων στασιαζοντων προς τους Ισομβρας. "The Taurinians, who--were at this time *engaged in war* with "the Inſubrians" (i. 371), στασιαζοντων, engaged in ſeditious war, engaged in an inſurrection. Some eyes cannot diſtinguiſh colours, and ſome minds cannot diſcriminate ideas.

[h] Polybius iii. 56. Καταβας—εις τα περι τον Παδον πεδια, και τα των Ισομβρων εθνος.

and

and the Taurini had juſt now thrown off the yoke, which had been forced upon their necks. On *that* conqueſt, Magalus had been made the Inſubrian king of the Taurini; and, on *this* revolt, had been driven by the Taurini out of the country. He had *therefore* been ſent by the Inſubres, at the head of the kings of the Boii, in a ſolemn embaſſy to Hannibal from both; they two having *now* ſubdued all the other Gauls; thus forming the whole chain of Gallick nations, from the ſource nearly to the mouth of the Po; and being for that reaſon ſaid in the ſtricteſt propriety, to have ſent their embaſſadours from the plains along the Po. The Boii alſo are reported by Cato, as Pliny informs us, to have conſiſted of a hundred and twelve tribes[1]; and were therefore divided into a number of little kingdoms. We accordingly ſee *ſeveral* of their kings ſent with Magalus, as embaſſadours with him and under him to Hannibal. They were all to invite Hannibal into Italy, to the

[1] Pliny iii. 15. "Boii, quorum tribus cxii fuiſſe autor eſt "Cato." This nation, ſays Pliny, "interiérunt." The Romans, as Strabo tells us, "expelled them from the country; and they, "migrating to a region upon the Danube, dwelt with the Tau- "riſci, warring againſt the Dacæ; till they periſhed univerſally, "and left their country, being a part of Illyricum and a paſture "of flocks, to their neighbours" (v. 326). Such was the fate of even a whole nation, in the times of antiquity. Or, rather, ſuch is the looſe way in which antient hiſtorians extinguiſh whole nations; the Boii ſurviving for ages afterwards, and even to this day ſurviving, in Boiouaria or Bavaria, and in Boiohemia or Bohemia!

aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance of the Inſubres and the Boii, and to the reinſtatement of Magalus on the throne of the Taurini. But Magalus, who was at once the chief of the embaſſadours and the principal of the guides to Hannibal, would be ſure to carry him firſt to the object, which eaſily preſented itſelf to his arms on his deſcent from the Alps, and which peculiarly concerned the intereſt of Magalus himſelf; the reduction of his own revolted Taurini. And, what ſerves to complete the round of rays which I have derived from various quarters, and to throw the full luſtre of hiſtorical light upon a point hitherto loſt in obſcurity; Marcellinus informs us in expreſs terms, that Hannibal, who was certainly under the guidance of Magalus, was actually "guided by—TAURINI[k]."

— II. —

HANNIBAL had now ſurmounted a vaſt variety of difficulties, in the execution of his grand project; and was haſtening to make Italy itſelf, the theater of war. He was preparing, to rouze all the warlike nations within the boſom of it, from that ſtate of ſubmiſſion into which they were beginning to ſettle under the Romans, and to renewed acts of reſolute hoſtility againſt them. The fire of their fathers ſtill

[k] Marcellinus xv. 10. p. 109. "Taurinis ducentibus accolis."

burned

burned ſtrongly in the breaſts, of the Gauls to the north and of the Samnites to the ſouth. It wanted only the hand of a Hannibal, to fan it into a flame; and Hannibal is approaching to fan it. He is on the creſt of the Alps overlooking their country. He is now beginning to deſcend from them. His vanguard of cavalry and elephants has entered upon the march, already. His baggage is following cloſe behind. Then he himſelf ſets off, at the head of his main body. And Rome ſhakes with apprehenſion for the conſequences, through all the extent of her new dominions.

The road, on which Hannibal had marched up the Alps, lies all (as I have obſerved before) upon the bank of the Drance, and conſequently along a natural hollow of the hills. This therefore up to St. Branchier is actually called at this day, THE VALLEY OF MARTIGNY. But, from St. Branchier to the ſummit of St. Bernard, it is called THE VALE OF ST. PETER'S and VALLEE D' ENTREMONT or that of the Intermontane Region. It then runs down to the bottom on the other ſide, on what is equally the bank of a current, in what is equally denominated a valley, and called THE PELINE for the Pennine VALE[1].

The

[1] Simler 81. "Altera vallis Intremontiorum a Pennino "monte Branſcheriam uſque porrigitur———; pagum—S. Petri "Burgum appellant, ab eo vallis nomen accipit." Simler 247. "Vallis,—quæ ab Auguſtâ Prætoriâ ad Penninum ducit, Vallis "Pelinna

The laſt part of its courſe is thus deſcribed, by the Itinerary of Antoninus and the Tables of Peutinger. The former is very ſhort, gives us only one ſtage, and preſents us only with two names, the poſition of which I thus invert; "Summum Peninum ....," Great St. Bernard, "Auguſtam Prætoriam m. p. "xxv," Aoſta[m]." The latter are more full, and exhibit an intermediate ſtage thus; "In Summo "Pennino ....., EUDRACINUM xxv, Auguſta Præ- "toria xxviii[n]." But the meaſures in both are apparently wrong; *this* in the Tables is moſt extravagantly ſo, and *that* in the Itinerary is a little ſo. The milliary column, which I have noticed before, enables us by its inſcription to correct both. The ſouthern deſcent from the hills, cannot be more than the northern aſcent to them; and indeed, for a reaſon that will appear immediately, muſt be rather leſs. Yet the aſcent is merely twenty-*five* miles, both in the Itinerary and in the Tables. The deſcent therefore can be no more, and in fact is marked as twenty *four* only; the laſt line upon the milliary pillar being,

F. C. VAL. *XXIIII.*

Nor has Hannibal more to march, from the fartheſt point of the paſſage to the ſite of Aoſta below, than about *three* and twenty Roman miles; that point be-

"Pelinna ab ipſis nominatur." Sauſſure iv. 287. "Au confluent de trois vallées, celle d' Entremont,—celle de Bagnes, et "celle de Martigny."

[m] Bertius 22. [n] Second Segment.

ing

ing about one mile, I believe, to the south-west of the convent or town:

He thus began his descent. Nor was he molested by any parties of the Salassi. The grand defeat of their villany before; and the subsequent flight of their plundering parties, wherever his elephants advanced; had broken all their spirits, either for insidious or for marauding war. He had only to encounter the common incidents of an Alpine expedition at that period, the petty and secret pillages, made by some of the mountain-robbers occasionally on his baggage[d]. But he was much incommoded by the badness of the road, and by the snow upon the ground. He was indeed so much incommoded by both, that he lost not in the descent many short of the number, which he had lost in the ascent before[e].

The road in fact was much more difficult to be descended, than it had been to be ascended[f], This however seems a very surprising phænomenon of geography, on a hasty consideration of the subject.

[d] Polybius iii. 54. Εν η [καταβασει] πολεμιοις μεν ουκ ετι περιετυχε, πλην των λαθρα κακοποιουντων. Livy xxi. 35. "Nihil ne hostibus "quidem, præter parva furta per occasionem, tentantibus."

[e] Polybius iii. 54. Υπο δε των τοπων και της χιονος, ου πολλω λειποντας απεβαλε των κατα την αναβασιν φθαρεντων.

[f] Livy xxi. 35. "Iter multò, quàm in ascensu fuerat,—diffi-"cilius fuit."

But the beſt of phyſical reaſons may be aſſigned for it, in the ſingular formation of the Alps. Theſe "are "generally," ſays Livy himſelf, "ſhorter in their "ſides, and ſo ſteeper in their courſe, towards Italy[g]." "Of the Alps," adds Strabo, "which are mountains "very high, and forming a line of circumflex; the "*curved*" or *convex* "part is turned towards *the* "*plains of the Gauls*" on the north, "and to the "mountains of Cevennes" on the weſt, "but the "*hollow* towards Liguria and Italy[h]." Or, as Strabo repeats in another place, "we may ſpeak in this "particular manner, that the *baſis* of the Alps is *cir-* "*cular* and hollow, having the *concave* ſide *facing* "towards *Italy*; but the *middle* of the *hollow* is *to-* "*wards* the Salaſſi" of Italy; "and the *extremities* "take a turn; one as far as the head and heart of the "Adriatick; and the other towards the coaſt of Li- "guria as far as Genoa, the emporium of the Li- "gurians[i]. Theſe hills, notes Marcellinus concerning thoſe of *Mount Genévre*, "are to the paſſengers "*from* Gaule declining with a prone humility, but *ter-*

[g] Livy xxi. 35. "Pleraque Alpium ab Italiâ, ſicut breviora, "ita arrectiora, ſunt."

[h] Strabo iv. 290. Των δε Αλπεων, α εστιν ορη σφοδρα υψηλα, περιφερη ποιουντων γραμμην, το μεν κυρτον εστραπται προς τα—των Κελτων πεδια, και το κεκμενον ορος· το δε κοιλον προς την Λιγυστικην και την Ιταλιαν.

[i] Strabo v. 323. Καλα μερος δ' ειπειν δυναιτο, οτι των μεν Αλπεων περιφερης η υπωρεια εστι και κοιλπωδης, τα κοιλα εχουσα εστραμμενα προς την Ιταλιαν· του δε κολπου τα μεν μεσα, προς τοις Σαλασσοις εστι, τα δ' ακρα επιστροφην λαμβανει, τα μεν μεχρι της ακρας και του μυχου του κατα την Αδριαν, τα δ' εις την Λιγυστικην παραλιαν μεχρι Γενουας, του των Λιγυων εμποριου.

"*rible*

" *rible* on the *other* ſide with *the appearance* of *hanging* " rocks [k]." This obſervation is confirmed concerning the *weſtern* Alps, by our modern travellers. "It is " remarkable," Mr. Breval tells us, " that the ſnows " cauſe a great deal more miſchief on the *Piemont*, " than they do on the *Savoy*, ſide of the Alps; by " reaſon, that *the ſteeper* and *more concave* part of " them faces *this* way [l]." Mr. Gray alſo adds in regard to *Mount Cenis* particularly, with his uſual vivacity of expreſſion; that " the *deſcent* from Mount " Cenis is—*infinitely more ſteep*, than *the going up* [m]." And as we ſee this very road acroſs the Pennine Alps to Italy, even three hundred years after Hannibal, ſtill characterized by one of the antients for " a path- " way ſtrait and difficult;" ſo we find it equally reported by a modern, to be at preſent a line of " pathways, rapid in their deſcent and fatiguing to " the traveller [n]." The road was thus leaning downwards to the Carthaginians almoſt all the march, in a headlong kind of deſcent towards Italy [o]. This rendered it ſlippery to the foot of the men, to the

[k] Marcellinus xv. 10. p. 108. "Eſt—e Galliis venientibus " pronâ humilitate devexum, pendentium ſaxorum altrinſecus " viſu terribile."

[l] Breval's Second Travels i. 290. [m] Maſon 64.

[n] Appian's Illyr. p. 1203, Latin tranſlation, the Greek original being loſt, " arcta ſemita, ac difficilis;" Bourrit iii. 267. " La route ſe convertit en ſentiers rapides et fatigans."

[o] Polybius iii. 54. Ουσης γαρ—καλωφιρους της καλαβασεως; Livy xxi. 35. " Omnis—ferme via—præceps—erat."

hoof of the cattle, and to the wheel of the cars [p]. It was alſo narrow in itſelf, and bounded by a precipice at one ſide [q]. To crown all, the plane of it was covered with a coat of ſnow, too thick not to conceal to the eye the immediate track in the middle of the road, and too thin to reduce this for the foot into an even level with the ſides. The cattle and the men, therefore, could not ſee where they might tread with ſecurity. They frequently miſſed the track, and then could not ſave themſelves from tripping againſt the ſides. A very ſlight trip threw them off from their balance, at once; they tumbled down the precipices; and they rolled one upon another to the bottom [r].

p Livy xxi. 35, "Omnis—ferme via—lubrica erat."

q Polybius iii. 54. Στενης; Livy xxi. 35. "Anguſta:" and Polybius iii. 54. Κατα των κρημνων.

Polybius iii. 54. Της—χιονος αδηλον ποιουσης εκαστοις την επιβασιν, παν το περιπεσον της οδου, και σφαλεν, εφερετο κατα των κρημνων. Livy xxi. 35. "Neque ſuſtinere ſe a lapſu poſſent, nec qui paululum titubâſſent hærere afflicti veſtigio ſuo; aliique ſuper alios, et jumenta et homines, occiderent."

"The way was not only very ſteep and narrow," the deſcent was not only narrow and headlong, "but ſo entirely covered alſo by the ſnow, that the feet *knew* not where to tread with ſafety." This is the Latin tranſlation, a little varied: "non dignoſcente milite propter nivem, ubi pedem poneret." It, and its tranſlation the Engliſh, are very wordy. The fair verſion is only this, "the ſnow concealing the path from every one." This is full enough for the meaning, and exactly reſponſive to Polybius's language. "And as often as they turned aſide from the proper track," as often as they miſſed the track, *and ſtumbled*, "they were inſtantly carried down *ſome* precipice" (i. 362).

All

All ſerves to ſhow, that Hannibal's road even *down* the Alps, was not what General Melvil has conſidered it to be throughout; the moſt primitive of all roads, the mere trough or channel of a river. A river indeed deſcends along the *ſouthern* ſide of the Alps, as well as the northern; and originates equally from the top of Great St. Bernard. In that way had nature formed an avenue for man, up the Alps on *both* ſides. But, as we have ſuppoſed *that* avenue to have been afterwards improved on the northern ſide, by being transferred from the bed to the bank; ſo we may now behold it actually improved and transferred, on *both*. We have already ſeen it[5], at the very entrance into the Alps; when the loaded cars and the burdened horſes were thrown down the precipice of the road, and the road conſequently ran as it runs at preſent, up an acclivity of the mountain, along the ſide of a precipice, and with the Drance foaming at the foot of it. We may now ſee it equally here, when cattle and men tumbled down the precipice of the road again, and rolled one upon another to the bottom. Thus transferred, we behold alſo the nature of the whole road very diſtinctly. It was not, as all our roads over mountains uſed to be, carried on in a ſunken channel of earth and rock, directly or almoſt directly up and down the face of the mountain. No! It was more in the form of our modern roads, that are trained in traverſes along the ſide of

[5] Vol. i. Chap. iv. Sect. 8.

a hill, guarded by the riſe of the ground upon one hand, and having the fall of a precipice on the other; the great ſteepneſs of the hill ſuggeſting and compelling this anticipation of modern art. Such is this very road of deſcent, at the preſent day; being generally drawn down the hills, in what appears to be a range of terraces with ſteep ſides, to the eye below[t]. It was merely a pathway along the ſide of the mountain, a ſharply inclining plane of rock, ſlippery in itſelf, but worne and hollow in the middle, and riſing roundingly at the ſides. The narrowneſs of the whole afforded little chance of recovery, to the miſ-treading feet; and the frightful precipice was always ready at the edge, to receive the falling bodies into the gulph of deſtruction there. *All* the roads over the Alps, ſays Strabo, were even in *his* time like this; as "it was not poſſible" for Auguſtus himſelf "everywhere to force nature, by breaking through "huge rocks and down vaſt precipices, ſome over-"hanging the road, others falling down from it, ſo "that, even on a ſlight ſtep out of the track, the "danger was unavoidable, the fall being into bot-"tomleſs hollows; and ſo narrow is the way in ſome "part of it, as to give a giddineſs to thoſe who walk "on foot along it, both to men and to beaſts, if un-"uſed to it[u]." So much more formidable does the road

[t] Bourrit iii. 259. "La route qui paſſe—ſur des terraces eſ-"carpées."

[u] Strabo iv. 313. Ου γαρ δυναΐον παντάχη βιασασθαι την φυσιν δια πετρων και κρημνων, εξαισιων, των μεν υπερκειμενων της οδου, των δ' υποπιπτοντων,

road appear in this artificial ſtate of it, than in its primitive and original condition of the trough of a river! It appears indeed from this delineation ſo truly formidable, as almoſt to turn the head of the reader while he contemplates it. What then muſt it have been in the reality? Yet the army bore it all, with a patient perſeverance. They had ſeen ſuch roads before, and had therefore encountered ſuch dangers already [w].

— III. —

THEY thus proceeded down the Alps, till they reached once more the regions of vegetation. The

πιπτοντων, ωστε και μικρον εκβασιν, αφυκτον εινας τον κινδυνον, εις φαραγγας αβυσσους τȣ πτωματος οντος· ȣτω δε εστι στενη κατα τι αυτȣ η οδος, ωστ' ιλιγγον φερειν τοις πεζη βαδιζȣσι, και αυτοις και υποζυγιοις, τοις αηθεσι.

[w] Polybius iii. 54. Ου μεν αλλα ταυτην μεν υπεφερον την ταλαιπωριαν, ατε συνηθεις οντες ηδη τοις τοιȣτοις κακοις. "Yet the ſoldiers, "to whom ſuch accidents were now become familiar, ſuſtained "all this *miſery* with an *amazing* firmneſs" (i. 362). He, who generally is *below* his author in vivacity, is *above* him here.

We have this picture of a *winter* journey, even in *more modern* times. "Schnaffaburgenſis,—commemorans quanto labore Hen-"ricus IV [the Emperor of Germany] Alpes hyeme ſuperaſſe "[dicitur]," when he went over this very hill of Great St. Bernard (Simler 132); "ſcribit Reginam, et mulieres ex ejus gy-"necæo, *boum coriis impoſitas fuiſſe*, quas *itineris duces deorſum trahe-"bant*; equos quoque *per machinas ſummiſſos*, aut *colligatis pedibus "tractos*, ex quibus multi mortui aut debilitati perierint" (Simler 283). The hiſtorian thus takes advantage of his reader's ignorance, to fable about the Alps. But his injudiciouſneſs defeats his falſhood, and gives the reader his fair revenge upon the author.

cold air of the ſummit gently ſoftening *towards* warmth, as the road receded from the frozen pikes of ſnow there; plants began to peep out of the ground, buſhes to ſhoot from the clefts of the rocks, and trees to raiſe their heads upon the hills. Nature thus began to throw off her ſtern, rugged looks of barren rock, and to cover her ſavage nakedneſs with a thin, ſcanty robe of verdure. From the bleak ſummit of the mountain to the warmer reign of vegetation, is reckoned by ſome to be a journey of *two* hours on *either* ſide of the mountains [a]. It is in fact a journey of *two* on the *ſouthern* ſide, but of *three* on the *northern*; or, to uſe a more popular ſtandard of menſuration, the diſtance is *ſix* miles on *that*, and *nine* on *this*. Upon the road of aſcent, the vegetation dies away about St. Peter's; and, on the road of deſcent, revives about SAINT-REMY again [b]. So much livelier is the influence of the ſun upon an oppoſing object, than upon a declining one! The road of deſcent runs nearly two miles and a half to Vacherie, all the way keeping at the foot of great rocks. The air is very cold along it, and the ſnow lay unmelted at Vacherie in 1774 as late as the 21ſt of July. But a ſlight and faint ſort of vegetation commences there,

[a] Martyn 20.

[b] Bourrit iii. 267, travels this road *up* the hills *to* Great St. Bernard. "Arrivés à St. Remy," he ſays, "nous nous trouvâmes dans les lieux ſauvages.—Bientôt—nous n'y voyions plus de bois." In iii. 286 he ſays of St. Peter's thus; "ce fut là ò nous vimes les premieres forets."

as

as there we ſee what we look for in vain upon St. Bernard, ſome paſtures, ſome cattle grazing upon them, and ſome huts for their tenders; while we ſee no huts at all on the north, before we have deſcended about ſix miles. Thoſe huts, cattle, and paſtures belong to a hoſpital at ST. REMY, about three miles and a half below, and *the firſt village* on the road at preſent. But before the road reaches it, on a high mountain upon the northern ſide of it, we ſee the gradual tranſition of Alpine vegetation into the production of trees. We firſt behold ſome paſtures all naked of trees. We next come to trees ſcattered, ſmall, and knotted. Nature ſtill improves as the ground deſcends; the power of production ſtrengthens; and, *juſt before we reach* St. Remy, we enter a large wood of larches, *good and perfect in their forms*, anſwering another wood of larches about three miles lower on the north. Hannibal therefore, whom we ſhall find to have actually come to a *wood*, muſt have now marched beyond the line of beginning vegetation, muſt have now reached the ſcenes of vegetation perfected, and have been in the very vicinity of St. Remy. On the *northern* ſide of the wood, the mountain is conſtantly white all over from the great balls of ſnow, that fall there in winter, and fall ſtill more in ſpring. Theſe render the road very dangerous, at ſuch ſeaſons; and no part of the Alps is more expoſed than this, to the fall of ſnows and to the rage of winds. St. Remy indeed would be overwhelmed and buried by the ſnows, if it was not guarded

guarded by that Alpine barrier of ſecurity, which experience alone could have proved to be a ſecurity, the wood hanging immediately over it. The inhabitants of St. Remy, for that reaſon, preſerve their wood with all the care, with which the Dutch preſerve their dykes; as their only mound, againſt the ocean of ſnows from above. Theſe ſnows continue upon the ground, at this part of the deſcent, during the whole ſummer. Hannibal therefore, who had *ſnows* to encounter even though he had reached the region of trees, muſt have been in the immediate deſcent to St. Remy, when he engaged with both [c].

At this point of the deſcent then, the Carthaginians met with a very ſingular incident, that damped all their ſpirits effectually. It was now about noon probably, when the cavalry ſuddenly made a grand halt in the leading part of the van. This of courſe was ſoon communicated backward, in a kind of elec-

[c] Sauſſure iv. 224, 223, 222, 221—220, and 270; Bourrit iii. 267—268. M. Sauſſure iii. 224 aſſerts the road betwixt St. Bernard and St. Remy, to be *two leagues* in length; and the road from St. Bernard and St. Peter's on the other ſide, which he ſtates in iii. 270 to be *two hours and a half*, that is, *ten* miles at the rate of *four* to *an hour*, as in Sketch 82, or *nine* at *three*, as in the text of page immediately preceding, M. Bourrit accordingly ſettles at *three leagues* (iii. 286). An *hour* therefore in travelling language, whatever the author of Sketch may ſay, means not *four* miles, but *three*. It is the ſame as a league. And it is of conſequence to all traverſers of countries, whether traverſers in reality or by reading, to know the quantity of ground meant by this very common rule of menſuration upon the continent.

trical

trical ſhock, through the elephants and through the baggage, to Hannibal at the head of the main body. Hannibal therefore ſent a meſſenger forward, to enquire into the meaning of it. Intelligence was brought him back, that the horſe *had come to a paſs which was abſolutely impracticable.* He inſtantly puſhed by the ſides of the baggage, the elephants, and the cavalry; advancing to the head of the whole army, in order to view the ground[d]. There indeed a wonderful ſight preſented itſelf to his eyes. The plane of the road was ſunk ſo perpendicularly and ſo deeply, that one of the light infantry, by carefully trying the deſcent, and holding with his hands the buſhes and roots at the ſide, could hardly have let himſelf down into the hollow[e].

This obſtruction therefore was not any thing ſimilar to that, which it has been conſidered by General Melville to be. It was *not* "ſuch a narrow "path on the ſteep ſide of a looſe and rocky hill, as "is liable to be waſhed away by falling rains or "melting ſnows, or even to be beat down by balls of "ſnow[f]." Hannibal has had no rains falling and

[d] Livy xxi. 36. "Ibi quum—equites conſtitiſſent, miranti "Hannibali quæ res moraretur agmen, nunciatur rupem inviam "eſſe; digreſſus deinde ipſe, ad locum viſendum."

[e] Livy xxi. 36. "Ægrè expeditus miles, tentabundus, ma-"nibuſque retinens virgulta ac ſtirpes circà eminentes, demit-"tere poſſet."

[f] See Vol. i. Chap. ii. Sect. 1.

no

no ſnows melting, *ſufficient to waſh away his road.* The ſnow actually lay on the ground here, at this moment; unmelted equally by the rains or by the ſun. Nor had any balls of ſnow fallen upon the road, as this was neither buried in ſnow nor demoliſhed by it. Even if they had fallen, even if melting ſnows and deſcending rains had combined their powers with them; neither any nor all could have affected the road in the very extraordinary manner, in which it was affected. THE HOLLOW WAY WAS ALL ONE BED OF ROCK. The *bottom* and the *ſides* were *rock*, with roots and buſhes hanging over the *rock* at the ſides. Thus, as Livy tells us, "the Carthaginians came to "a much narrower ROCK, having ſides of STONE ſo "perpendicular, that" &c. [g]. The whole courſe of the hiſtory, indeed, demonſtrates the road to have been all a ſtrong rock. We are therefore deluding our credulity groſsly, by ſetting ourſelves in full oppoſition to the narrative, and reducing this obſtruction into the mere ſliding of a road of earth down the ſide of a rocky hill [h]. The fact was infinitely more important,

[g] Livy xxi. 36. "Ventum deinde ad multò anguſtiorem ru-"pem, atque ita rectis ſaxis, ut" &c.

[h] Simler, who was the firſt (I believe) that ſuggeſted this idea, in p. 212 has advanced another ſuppoſition along with this, and equally abſurd. "Accidit autem ſæpe in montanis itineribus," he ſays, "ubi propter præcipitem declivitatem rectà deſcendere "non licet, ut viæ admodum anguſtæ montium lateribus quaſi "inciſæ ſunt: quodſi *pars ſuperior montis labatur*, via præcludi-"tur; vel ſi *pars ea montis quà iter eſt in vallem ſubſidat*, jam prop-"ter

important, and a very aſtoniſhing one indeed. At this point, the road had been ſteep and headlong before[i]; but had recently been made much more ſo, than ever. Through the whole range of the precipicious part of the road, which was near a thouſand feet in length, it had been actually ſunk into a narrow gulph of rock[k]! The very end, at which it had broke off from the road preceding, was left with ſuch a deep and perpendicular face of ſolid ſtone; that (as I have previouſly obſerved) even one of Hannibal's light infantry could with difficulty have deſcended it, holding by the buſhes and roots at the ſide. All this gives ſuch a clear and ſtrong view of this memorable interruption, as ſhows nothing but an earthquake could have produced it. An earthquake had broke down the ſteep deſcent, into a deep

" ter præcipitium nullus eſt locus itineri, niſi novum quoddam " iter in montem excidatur. Ac *ex Polybio videtur tale quid acci-* " *diſſe Hannibali.*" Both theſe ſuppoſitions are directly contrary to the narration. The road had *not* ſlided down into the valley, the hill had *not* ſlided down upon the road; for the road lay all before the eyes of the army, conſiſting of ſolid rock.

[i] Polybius iii. 54. Της γης απορρωγος και προ τυ μεν υσης; " the " ground, which was before *extremely ſteep and broken*" (i. 362), language too indefinite and diffuſe, for what ſays only that the ground was previouſly *abrupt*; Livy xxi. 36. " Naturâ locus jam " anté præceps,"

[k] Polybius iii. 54. Τοτε δε και μαλλον ιδι προσφατως απερρωγυιας; " had *again* very lately *fallen away*" (i. 362), words that convey no ideas at all, and ought to have been " had then and lately be- " come even more abrupt;" and this was επι τριακοντα ημισταδια της γης, Livy xxi. 36. " Recenti lapſu terræ, in pedum mille admodum " altitudinem abruptus erat."

chaſm.

chaſm. An earthquake had broke it down, with ſuch a ſubſidence in the plane of the road itſelf; as left the preceding parts of it to terminate all at once, in an even wall of ſtone, that was ſix or ſeven feet in perpendicular height, and therefore could not be deſcended without difficulty, even by a man on foot[1].

We can eaſily ſuppoſe, that earthquakes are not uncommon in this mountainous region of the Alps; as the cavities of mountains are the natural ſphere of operations, to ſubterraneous winds. Accordingly in the road to mount Cenis from the weſt, as one of our travellers particularly obſerves, "ſome of the moun-"tains" near St. Michael "are cleft and torn aſun-"der, as if by earthquakes; a dreadful darkneſs con-

1 Juſtice and gratitude require me to obſerve here, in order to aſſert the violated credit of an author, who is uncommonly uſeful in this period of the hiſtory; that the editors or the manuſcripts of Livy have certainly adopted a language in one point, improper for the idea or the fact, and contrary to the original language of Livy. They make the chaſm a thouſand feet *deep*, when Polybius makes it three half-ſtadia (not, as Caſaubon renders the paſſage, "in pedes ferè centum nonaginta," but, as Pliny ii. 23 deciſively ſhows 937½ feet) *long*; he and Livy keeping very naturally to round numbers. But that it was ſo many feet *deep*, is actually denied by Livy himſelf; when he ſays one of the light infantry could have deſcended into it, perpendicular as the rock was, if he held by the roots and buſhes at the ſide. And the general coincidence of the two meaſures in Livy and Polybius, concurs with the omiſſion of the *length* in Livy, to ſhow us plainly; that Livy's manuſcripts or editors have injured his text violently, and that their *altitudinem* ſhould be replaced by his *longitudinem* again.

3 "cealing

"cealing the inmoſt receſſes of theſe caverns[m]." We have even an earthquake, very ſimilar to that at St. Remy in its circumſtances, and happening in the neighbouring paſſage of the Simplon. At Brigue there, ſo late as the year of the Liſbon earthquake, and on the 9th of December, an earthquake took place, "the mountains ſtaggered upon their foun-"dations, all the valley waved from ſouth to north, "the roofs of the houſes were lifted up, the tiles were "carried into the air and daſhed againſt each other, "THE ROADS SUBSIDED[n]." The earthquake near St. Remy, however, muſt have happened *ſince* Magalus and his brethren had come the ſame way before, on their journey to meet Hannibal in Gaule. Magalus and they would certainly be with the moſt advanced part of the army, as guides to them and the whole. Yet they and he marched up to this breach in nature, looked down into it with amazement, and ſtood ſtill under an utter inability to go on. "The "horſe halted," ſays Livy, "as if they were at the "final termination of the road[o];" and "ſent word "to Hannibal, that the rock was no longer paſſ-"able[p]." This ſhows the aſtoniſhment of the guides

[m] Mrs. Miller i. 54.

[n] Bourrit i. 217. "L'on vit les montagnes vaciller ſur leurs fondemens, et toute la vallée ſe mouvoir du midi au nord; les toîts des maiſons furent enlevés, les tuiles portées dans l'air s'entrebriſerent, les cheminées s'abattirent."

[o] Livy xxi. 36. "Quum, velut ad finem viæ, equites conſti-"tiſſent."

[p] Livy xxi. 36. "Nunciatur rupem eſſe inviam."

and

and cavalry, at the ſight of the formidable gulph. The road had therefore been reduced to its preſent ſtate of impracticability, by ſome awful convulſion of nature; ſince the guides were here. Accordingly Polybius unites with Livy and this reaſoning, by ſaying expreſsly that the chaſm had been recently formed [9].

On meeting this unexpected and formidable barrier to their career of march, the ſpirits of the army inſtantly fell. They were, in their own imaginations, upon a new courſe of military experiments. They had not the experience of others, to confirm them; they had only their own fund of courage, to ſupport them. The Gauls of France indeed had repeatedly marched acroſs theſe mountains, and in the very direction which they themſelves were now purſuing. Even Hannibal, at his paſſage acroſs the Rhone, had actually appealed to thoſe marches, as encouraging examples to them. Yet theſe incidents were not familiarized to their minds, by frequent recurrence to them in reading or in converſing about them. They had heard of them, and were encouraged; but forgot them, in the firſt moments of diſtreſs. When the mind takes a firm hold upon paſt events, and, by a happy kind of chemiſtry in the imagination, tranſmutes them into preſent incidents;

[9] Polybius iii. 54. Προσφάτως απορρωγυίας; Livy xxi. 36. "Recenti lapſu terræ."

then

then the energy of their influence is great. Yet this is ſeldom the caſe even with ſcholars, even with thoſe who ſeem to be happily ſequeſtered from the common occupations of life, in order to attend to the operations of man in paſt ages. Little therefore can it be expected to be ſo, with the great multitude of mankind in general, with that un-lettered and unthinking maſs of men in particular, which forms the common ſoldiery of all armies. With ſuch men, a paſt incident will carry ſmall weight in oppoſition to preſent experience. The Carthaginians indeed had been alſo encouraged, by the ſight of the embaſſadours from Italy before them, by their promiſes of ſuccour there, and by their aſſurances of ſafely conducting them thither. But they were equally diſcouraged now, when they found thoſe aſſurances terminate in this impaſſable gulph, and beheld the embaſſadours themſelves looking with an eye of wild ſurpriſe upon it. In this new world of warfare to them, they were liable to be raiſed or depreſſed by any ſudden emergency of fortune. Their ſpirits had been raiſed at Orzieres undoubtedly, with the expectation of a ſmooth and ſpeedy paſſage into Italy; had been depreſſed at Luttier, in beholding their expectation baffled, on ſeeing themſelves obliged to regain their old road, and on finding their march over the mountains and by the Glacieres, ſo cold, ſo perplexed, ſo long; had again been raiſed on recovering the road at St. Peter's, on gaining the ſummit of St. Bernard, and on receiving the horſes, the men, left

behind at St. Branchier; but had again been depressed by the fall of snow, had again been raised by the address of Hannibal, and were now depressed greatly again. This tissue of adventures operated upon their minds, just as the variations of our atmosphere operate upon the weather-glass; and produced a quick alternacy of clouds and sunshine, in their shifting spirits. But their minds now settled down into an universal despondency, at the sight or at the hearing of this tremendous chasm [r].

Yet Hannibal, however startled at the sight, was not confounded by it. He was still master of himself, under the pressure of this extraordinary distress. He could look at the breach without terrour, and examine the ground at the sides without perturbation. Amidst all the clamours of despondency and despair, so natural to the common spirits of an army, with such a spectacle before them; he could calmly meditate how he should surmount an obstruction, which was seemingly thrown in his way by the hand of Providence itself. He instantly saw, as he thought, that he could carry his army along the untracked and falling ground upon one side, and so bring it by a long circuit back into the road below. The road was then lined, as it is at this day, by the rise of the mountain on his *left*, and by the fall of the mountain

[r] Polybius III. 54. Ἐνταῦθα πάλιν ἀθυμῆσαι καὶ διατραπῆναι συνέβη τὸ πλῆθος.

on

on his *right*. The road itſelf is formed in the rock of the mountain, is therefore narrow, but goes obliquely down the ſomewhat rapid deſcent of the mountain, and ends in an opening very ſtrait upon St. Remy[s]. Hannibal accordingly ordered his army, to wheel round a little on the right, to deſcend the falling ſide of the mountain in a general line with the road, and to regain the road below the chaſm[t].

Hannibal was ſanguine, as to the ſucceſs of this movement[u]. But there was a much greater difficulty in the execution, than he had apprehended. Vigourous minds conceive a bold project, at a glance of thought; but nature does not bend to the vigour of projection. The rapid eye darts acroſs a diſtant view, at once; but the foot, that is to walk over it afterwards, finds many a valley to be painfully croſſed and many a hill to be painfully aſcended, which were undiſtinguiſhed in the general view; and ſtops ſhort in the journey perhaps, incapable of finiſhing it. At this time there lay upon the ground, the ſnow that

[s] Sauſſure iv. 222. "Audelà de ce bois, la montagne, à notre "droite," as he comes *up* theſe Alps, "que nous *montons* obliquement par une pente peu rapide" &c. "Le *ſentier* que l'on ſuit, "eſt tracé—ſur une roche." P. 220. "St. Remy,—ſitué au fond "d'une gorge tres-etroite, à l'entrée d'une forêt de méleſes, qui "s'eleve au-deſſus de lui."

[t] Polybius iii. 54. Το μεν ουν πρωϊον επεβαλλε περιελθειν τας δυσχωριας. Livy xxi. 36. "Per invia circà nec trita antea, quamvis "longo ambitu, circumduceret agmen."

[u] Livy xxi. 36. "Haud dubia res viſa."

along the smooth ice of the declivity[c]. But the cattle in the cars suffered still more. Their greater bulk, and their iron shoes, enabled them to take a firm footing upon the crust of ice beneath. Yet, even then, they sometimes fell; as their shoes proved not sharp enough in the points, or as the ice happened to be harder in its surface. At times also their hoofs sunk so deep into it, where the ice was thinner or the shoes sharper; that they could not draw them out again, for the next step. They therefore fell in their efforts for progression, with their loaded cars resting upon their backs. They then, in the same efforts, attempted to rise with them. They strained violently, to extricate their entangled feet. They thus broke quite through the shell of ice; and numbers remained as fastened by a fetlock, in the hard, deep, congealed snow beneath[d].

IV. SEEING

[c] Polybius iii. 55. Το δε συνακολουθουν τουτοις, ετι δυσχερεστερον υπηρχεν. οι μεν γαρ ανδρες, ου δυναμενοι την κατω χιονα διακοπτειν, οποτε, πεσοντες, Βουληθειεν η τοις γονασιν η ταις χερσι προσεξερεισασθαι προς την εξαναστασιν, τοτε και μαλλον επεπλεον αμα πασι τοις ερεισμασιν, επιπολυ κατωφερων οντων των χωριων. Livy xxi. 36. "Seu manibus in assurgendo seu genu se adjuvissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis, iterum corruissent; nec stirpes circà radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant; ita in levi tantùm glacie tabidâque nive volutabantur."

[d] Polybius iii. 55. Τα δ' υποζυγια διεκοπτεν, οτε πεσοι, την κατω χιονα κατα την διαναστασιν. Διακοψαντα δε, εμενε μετα των φορτιων, οιον καταπεπηγοτα δια τε το βαρος και δια το πηγμα της προυπαρχουσης χιονος. But Livy relates this incident in a manner, at once more circumstantial and more judicious. He says in xxi. 36. "Jumenta *secabant*," cut *into*, but not *through*, the ice; a sense very different

— IV. —

SEEING this, Hannibal remanded his cars and recalled his van. There was no possibility, he saw, of avoiding the gulph before him by skirting along the

different from, and more just than, that of διεκοπτεν in Polybius, which signifies them to cut *through* the ice; "interdum etiam, "tum infimam ingredientia nivem," not breaking through to it entirely, but coming *upon* it, as appears from the sequel; "et "prolapsa," a circumstance not accounted for by Polybius; "jactandis gravius in continendo ungulis, penitus perfringe-"bant," which are the terms answering to Polybius's διεκοπτεν—την κατω χιονα κατα την διαναστασιν, but giving an additional lustre to them, as they assign a cause to the effect; "ut pleraque, velut "pedicâ captâ, hærerent in duratâ et altè concretâ glacie." These two parallel passages serve strongly to enforce the general truth, that a just history of Hannibal's operations is to be derived from the addition of Livy to Polybius, and that Polybius's account would be very defective without the supplemental circumstances of Livy.

"At last they came to a place, which neither the elephants, "nor the beasts of burthen," the draught-cattle, τοις υποζυγιοις, "could in any manner pass [for its narrowness]. For the ground "—had—very lately—*left the road so narrow, that it was quite im-"practicable*. At this sight, the troops again were seized with "consternation, and even began to lose all the hopes of safety;" literally, began again to be dispirited and confounded. "An-"nibal at first endeavoured to avoid this route, by changing the "direction of his march, and making a circuit round it;" literally and much more briefly, Hannibal projected at first to go round the defile. "But he *soon* was forced to desist from that "design. For the way on *every* side was utterly *insuperable* "[from the snow that had fallen]; through an accident of a "singular kind, which is peculiar to the Alps. The snows of

the ſide of it. Yet it was now too late to try any other expedient. The ſhort afternoon of a day in the end of October, would be nearly all conſumed in theſe

" the former year, having remained unmelted upon the moun-
" tains, were now covered over by thoſe which had fallen *in the*
" *preſent winter*," though we have been told only juſt before, that it was but *near* the time of winter when the ſnows fell, and though the original ſpeaks merely of the preſent *year*. " The
" latter being ſoft [becauſe they were new], and of no great
" depth, gave an eaſy admiſſion to the feet. But when theſe were
" trodden through, and the *ſoldiers*," the *men*, the drivers of the baggage-cars, and the leaders of the elephants, as well as the troopers, " began to touch the ſnows that lay beneath, which
" were now become ſo firm, that they would yield to no im-
" preſſion, their feet both," that is, both their feet, " fell at once
" from under them," literally, they failed and ſlided away with both their feet together; " as if they had been walking upon the
" edge of ſome high and ſlippery precipice. And this miſchance
" drew after it a ſtill worſe accident. For when they ſtruggled
" with their hands and knees to recover themſelves from their
" fall," literally, when after their fall they wiſhed to prop themſelves on their hands and knees for riſing, " as the ground was
" everywhere extremely ſteep, they were then ſure to ſlide away
" with greater violence and rapidity than before; *carrying like-*
" *wiſe with them whatever they had graſped for their ſupport*," words pretending to tranſlate αμα πασι τοις ΕΡΕΙΣΜΑΣΙΝ, but miſ-underſtanding them, and turning the very hands and knees, on which the fallen wiſhed to prop themſelves up for riſing, ΠΡΟΣΕΡΕΙΣΑΣΘΑΙ, into ſomething we know not what, which they had graſped for their ſupport, and now carried with them on their ſecond fall. " The beaſts alſo that were loaded with
" the baggage," the cattle that drew the cars, τα υποζυγια,
" having by their endeavours to riſe again [when they had fall-
" en], broken the ſurface of the lower ſnow, remained *cloſely*
" *wedged* in the pits which they had made; and by *the weight of*
" *the burthens* under which they lay, as well as from the *unyield-*
" *ing firmneſs* of the ſnows around them, were *fixed immoveably in*
" *the*

theſe operations. The horſes in the cars were therefore un-harneſſed, extricated, and brought back with their cars. The elephants, and their drivers on foot, the

"*the place*" (i. 362—363). This is a miſ-conſtruction of Polybius's text, which I muſt notice in vindication of my own. When the draught-horſes had cut into the lower ſnow, "they remained "with their loads," ſays the text literally tranſlated, "as if they "were *froſted in*," οιον καλαπεπηγοΐα, "becauſe both of the *depth* "and of the *ice*," πηγμα, "of the previous ſnow." But how different is this verſion, from Mr. Hampton's! He has particularly conſidered with Caſaubon the Latin tranſlator, that the *depth of the ſnow* means the *weight of the loads*. Caſaubon renders the paſſage exactly as Mr. Hampton does, "eum ipſis ſarcinis—hæ-"rebant, et *propter gravitatem ſuam*, et propter glaciem." Yet he, who conſults the *Greek*, muſt ſee the miſtake. The words δια τε το Βαρος και δια το πηγμα της προυπαρχουσης χιονος, ſhew Βαρος and πηγμα by their very arrangement, to mean one and the ſame object, the ſnow. Even, if the tranſlation was juſt to the ideas of Polybius, it is ſo diſſimilar to him in its circumlocutions and repetitions of language, that we may ſafely ſay with one of Terence's *Perſonæ Dramatis*, "no man is ſo unlike to another as man "is to himſelf."

But let me additionally obſerve, that Silius Italicus, in his account of this expedition, has ſacrificed hiſtorical truth to poetical fiction. He *cuts off the feet of the cattle with the ice*.

> Dumque premit ſonipes duro veſtigia curſu,
> Ungula perfoſſis hæſit compreſſa ruinis:
> Nec peſtis lapſûs ſimplex; abſciſſa relinquunt
> Membra gelu, fractoſque aſper rigor amputat artus.

The teſtimonies of Polybius and of Livy unite to ſhow, that this circumſtance is as falſe as it is extraordinary. Yet there is no need of any teſtimony. He refutes himſelf ſufficiently, as he *makes numbers of the Carthaginians to be ſwallowed up in the opening ſnow*, and *whole troops of them to be overwhelmed at the ſame time by a ſnow-ball*.

Tum

the cavalry and their dismounted troopers, trod back that way with pain and apprehension, which they had just gone over before with safety and with ease. Hannibal ordered his whole army to encamp upon the road, at the head of the gulph. Oppressed with the fatigue of their march, with such a chasm directly across their way, and with the experienced impracticability of evading it; his soldiery were now to undergo the additional discouragement, of encamping among the rocks and snows. They dug up the snow, however, and removed it. The quantity, so removed for a whole camp, was necessarily very great. The toil of doing this was very considerable, and made a heavy addition to all. They then pitched their tents upon the bared ground. They there took their repast for the evening, and their repose for the night[e].

In

Tum, quâ durati concreto frigore collis
Lubrica frustratur canenti semita clivo,
Luctantem ferro glaciem premit; haurit hiatu
Nix resoluta vires, altoque á culmine præceps
Viventes turmas operit delapsa ruinâ.

To such a pitch of romantick extravagance; to such a strain of incidents, that never happened and never could happen in Hannibal's expedition; did Silius soar as a poet. Yet, at other times, he speaks only in this modest manner.

Lapsantem dubio devexa per invia nisu
Firmabat gressum, atque humentia saxa premebat:
Non acies hostisve tenet, sed prona minaci
Prærupto turbat, et cautibus obvia rupes;
Stant clausi, mœrentque moras et dura viarum.

[e] Polybius iii. 55. Αποςας της τοιαυτης ελπιδος, εςρατοπεδευσε περι την αρχην, διαμησαμενος την επ' αυτη χιονα. "When this attempt "was

In the night undoubtedly, after ſome cloſe conſultation with others and ſome deep conſideration with himſelf, he formed his plan. He had no other reſource left, than to make a new road. He reſolved therefore, to make it upon the old one. The conſtruction of a road entirely new at the ſide of the other, would be much more tedious and troubleſome than the re-formation of the other. He muſt have cut down the mountain on his left, or have ſloped away the precipice on his right. He wiſely preferred the formation of a deſcent into the old road, before either. Accordingly he engaged ſeriouſly upon the work, in the morning. The ſoldiery began on the perpendicular wall of rock, which had been left at the head of the chaſm, by the violent ſubſidence of the ground there. This they were to cut down in ſuch a manner, as to render it deſcendible for his horſes and his cars; and went on in the buſineſs very laborioufly [f].

But,

" was thus found to be impracticable, Annibal *returned again* " *to the narrow road which he had quitted,*" words not derived from Polybius, derived only from the tranſlator's own ideas, and from a groſs miſtake in them concerning the narrative, as if Hannibal and his main body had attempted the precipice; " and, " having removed the ſnow, he encamped at the entrance of it" (i. 364). Livy xxi. 37. " Tandem, nequicquam jumentis atque " hominibus fatigatis, caſtra in jugo poſita, ægerrimè ad id ipſum " loco purgato; tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit."

[f] Polybius iii. 55. Παραςησας τα πληθη, τον κριμνον εξοκοδομει μετα πολλης της ταλαιπωριας. He " ordered the ſoldiers to make a " *firm* and *level* way along the precipice itſelf; and this, at the " expence of vaſt pains and labour, was at laſt effected" (i. 364).

Literally

But, before they began to cut down the rocks, they made uſe of an expedient, that has always attracted the attention of mankind at large, from its real ſingularity; and has recently engaged the ridicule of our own nation particularly, from the ſeeming extravagance of it. An incident of a bulk beyond the ordinary ſtandard of incidents, will be ſurveyed with wonder while men are diſpoſed to be ſerious, and be treated with a ſneer when they grow inclined to be merry. Every kingdom has thus its *oſcillations*, as it were, of vivacity and gravity. The Carthaginians felled a number of very large trees, that were growing cloſe to the road, and in the wood of larches immediately around them. They lopped off the heads and the branches from them. With all, they raiſed a vaſt pile of fuel upon the rocks of the perpendicular wall. As ſoon as a ſtrong wind aroſe for kindling the pile, which at this ſtormy ſeaſon of the year, and on this ſtormy point of the Alps, could not be wanting for many hours together, and would begin to blow (I believe) immediately when the ſun began to be warm; they ſet fire to it. The trees, being of a reſinous nature, would ſoon flame. The rocks appeared glowing beneath, with the intenſeneſs of the heat above. They then applied VINE-

Literally rendered, this long ſentence ſhrinks up into a brief one, thus; "ſetting the ſoldiers to work, he deſtroyed the precipice "with great fatigue." Livy xxi. 37. "Inde ad rupem munien-"dam, per quam unam via eſſe poterat, milites ducti."

GAR to them, to ſoften them for ſplitting; and finally opened the burning rocks, with their pickaxes[s].

Nor

[s] Livy xxi. 37. "Quum cædendum eſſet ſaxum, arboribus "circà immanibus dejectis detruncatiſque, ſtruem ingentem "lignorum faciunt: eamque (quum et vis venti, apta faciendo "igni, coorta eſſet) ſuccendunt, ardentiaque ſaxa infuſo aceto "putrefaciunt; ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt."

Silius Italicus, in deſcribing this part of Hannibal's expedition, ſpeaks of the *oaks* and *aſhes* which he cut down.

> Noctem operi jungunt, et robora ferre coactis
> Approperant humeris, et raptas collibus ornos.
> Jamque ubi nudarunt ſylvâ denſiſſima montis,
> Aggeſſere trabes; rapidiſque accenſus in orbem
> Excoquitur flammis ſcopulus; mox, proruta ferro,
> Dat gemitum patiens reſoluto pondere moles,
> Atque aperit feſſis antiqui regna Latini.

He notices not the vinegar; though he does what were not there, the *orni* and the *robora*. So inaccurate is he in both points! Aſhes and oaks are *not* the *general* trees of the Alps. "Sylvæ abundant *larice*," ſays Simler 18, "— præterea pinu, "piceâ, abiete, aliiſque arboribus quæ Alpibus frequentes "ſunt." What theſe other trees are, he ſhows in p. 321 and 322. They are the "aquifolia, tilia, caprinus, buxus, portulaca, "taxus," of which *laſt*, he notes, a great number is often carried even into *England*, for *making the bows which this nation yet uſes frequently* (323), "juniperus, terebinthus, caprificus, phylica "[philyra], aphaca, nux juglans, caſtanea, ilex." The oak and the aſh of Silius are not among them. "Laricem tamen," adds Simler 323, "præterire non poſſum, Theophraſto et Græciæ ig- "notam, *propriam noſtris Alpibus. Proceritate* cognatas arbores "*æquat*, et *ſæpe* etiam *ſuperat*." Hence the trees of Hannibal are called "immanes" by Livy; as, in the preceding parts of the text, I have noticed the wood at this point to conſiſt peculiarly of larches, and theſe larches to be perfect in their forms. "— In ſe- "cando ferramenta facilè patitur. Vetus eſt opinio, a Plinio quo- "que literis prodita, *eam non ardere nec carbonem facere, neque alio "modo ignis vi conſumi quàm lapides*: — ſed *falſam* fuiſſe hanc per- "ſuaſionem *inde conſtat*, quòd apud Valleſianos, quibuſdam in lo- "cis,

Nor let it be thought a circumſtance phyſically impoſſible, for vinegar to have ſuch an effect upon a heated rock-ſtone. In the preſent age, no doubt, we have carried our knowledge very far into the properties, ſeparate or combined, of thoſe portions of matter with which we have an immediate connection here. But infinitely more remains ſtill to be known. It would perhaps require the duration of half a dozen ſuch worlds as this, to diſcover the properties of all the matter within it; and the pupil of five hundred ages, would ſtill be learning perhaps in the ſchool of nature. But this kind of learning, peculiarly, is

" cis, *non alia ligna in uſum foci adhibentur*, alicubi etiam in Alpibus " *ad ferrarias fodinas carbones ex eâ fierent* —Præcipua tamen laus " eſt *larignæ reſinæ*" (323—325). All this reſolves a difficulty, particularly noticed concerning the tree in Eſſays of Huſbandry 2764 [by the Rev. Mr. Harte, rector of Creed &c. in Cornwall, and Canon of Windſor], p. 147—149; a work pregnant with intelligence and ingenuity, yet recommended firſt to my notice by one, who was formerly his pupil and is ſtill a reſpecter of his memory, Lord Eliot.

" Lapidum ſeu carbonum bituminoſorum," let me juſt add from Simler 17—18, as a point very curious in itſelf, " quos vul- " gus *ſtein-kolen* vocat," as our own people in the north call the rubble of coal *ſtone-coal*, " magna eſt copia apud Sedunos et Si- " derianos: hi lapides toti nigri ſunt, et metallorum modo è " montibus effodiuntur, deinde, aliorum lapidum modo, *in calca-* " *riam fornacem componuntur*, et *faſciculis aliquot lignorum adhibitis* " *accenduntur*, et *in calcem optimam convertuntur*. Modus hic *cal-* " *cis coquendæ* è bituminoſis lapidibus *non ita pridem inventus eſt*; " cum antea tantùm ad ignis uſum, inſtar carbonum reliquorum, " adhibiti fuerint." This diſcovery of burning rubble-coal into lime, is as unknown and as valuable, I apprehend, as my Lord Dundonald's of extracting tar from it. I therefore recommend it, to the active experimentaliſts of the preſent times.

often

often retrograde in its movements; and the flood-tide of knowledge in one age, goes back in an ebb-tide at another. To our equal ſurpriſe and vexation at times, we find the antients poſſeſſed of degrees of phyſical knowledge, with which we were moſtly or entirely un-acquainted ourſelves. I need not appeal in proof of this, to that extraordinary operation of chemiſtry, by which Moſes reduced the golden calf to powder, and then gave it, mingled with water, as a drink to the Iſraelites; an operation, the moſt difficult in all the proceſſes of chemiſtry, and concerning which it is a ſufficient honour for the moderns to ſay, that they have *once* or *twice* practiſed it. I need not appeal to the mummies of Egypt, in which the art of embalming bodies is ſo eminently diſplayed, that all attempts at imitation have only ſhowed, the infinite ſuperiority of the original to the copy. I need not appeal to the gilding upon thoſe mummies, ſo freſh in its luſtre, to the ſtained ſilk of them, ſo vivid in its colours, after a lapſe of three thouſand years; to the ductility and malleability of glaſs, diſcovered by an artiſt of Rome in the days of Tiberius, but inſtantly loſt by the immediate murder of the man under the orders of the Emperour, and juſt now boaſted vainly to be re-diſcovered, by the wildly excentrick yet vividly vigourous genius of that Earl, who profeſſes to teach law to my Lord Chancellor and divinity to my Lords the Biſhops, who propoſes to ſend a ſhip by the force of ſteam, with all the velocity of a ball from the mouth of a cannon, and who

pretends, by the power of his ſteam-impelled oars, to beat the waters of the ocean into the hardneſs of adamant; or to the burning-glaſſes of Archimedes, recorded in their effects by credible writers, actually imitated by Proclus with Archimedes's own ſucceſs at the ſiege of Conſtantinople, yet boldly pronounced by ſome of our beſt judges demonſtrably impracticable in themſelves, and lately demonſtrated by ſome faint experiments to be very practicable; the ſkill of the moderns only going ſo far, as to render credible the practiſes of the antients[h]. I appeal only to a point, of a more familiar nature. Pliny had told us, that oil thrown over the ſurface of an agitated ſea, would allay its fury, and ſtill it into a calm; and that the divers of his age ſpurted oil out of their mouths in diving, becauſe it took off from the roughneſs of the water, and let down the light upon

[h] The aſtoniſhing ſkill of the antients in all branches of knowledge *merely human*, has been laid open in a work which is but little known, and yet is one of the moſt learned, original, and (I had almoſt ſaid) convincing works, in any language perhaps. Such is the ſtrange fate of publications at times! This is entitled "An enquiry into the origin of the diſcoveries attributed "to the moderns, *tranſlated from the French* of the Rev. Mr. Du- "tens, *rector of Elſdon, Northumberland*: with conſiderable addi- "tions communicated by the author. London—1769." The work is ſeemingly as ſingular in its hiſtory, as it is in its nature. See p. 237—240, 240—241, 254—260, and 323—333. The writer too is the author of that Itinerary in French, which is become the companion of all our travelling gentry, and the ſource of half their written remarks; but which I have been obliged to refute, in one point above concerning the Alps.

them.

them[i]. This was ſuch an aſcription of miraculous power to a ſimple liquid, however authenticated in appearance by the practice of the divers; as provoked, I believe, the ſneer of every pretender to philoſophical reaſon, who read it. Yet fact has very recently proved the doctrine to be true, and the moderns have been obliged with a bluſh, even on ſuch a petty point as this, to bow down in reverence to the ſuperior knowledge of the antients[k].

[i] Pliny ii. 104. "Hyeme mare calidius eſſe, autumno ſalſius, "*omne oleo tranquillari*; et, *ob id*, urinatores *ore ſpargere*, quoniam "*mitiget naturam aſperam, lucemque deportet.*"

[k] To the ſame principle as Pliny's I attribute a phænomenon on the ſurface of the ſea, that ſtrikes directly upon the attention of every *new* ſurveyor, yet is paſſed over without remark by men accuſtomed to the ſight, and has puzzled every critick to whom I have been pointing it out for years. This is the ſtreaks of ſmooth water, which run frequently along the ſurface of the ſea, and are ſtrongly contraſted in windy weather by the rough and dark water at their ſides. *A ſhip* or *a boat*, paſſing through the waves, *leaves juſt ſuch a track of liquid light behind it*. The oil of the pitch and tar, with which the bottom of the veſſel is coated over, mixes more or leſs with the water, and produces this beautiful effect. But what produces it, when no veſſel has lately gone in the direction? We then ſee theſe long and narrow mirrours, as it were, though they have never been noticed perhaps in any ſea-piece of painting, running frequently in different directions, regularly defined at the ſides, and extending for a good length. Theſe I have noticed only upon the coaſt, in a harbour, or in a tide-river; and they are occaſioned, I *conjecture*, by ſome oily and unctuous matter, which has been diſcharged into the ſea from the veſſels, the kitchens, and the privies upon it; which, as floating on the water, yet adhering tenaciouſly together, is not eaſily diſſipated by winds or waves, is therefore ſtraightened into right lines, or doubled into curves, by both, and then lends the moſt viſible ſmoothneſs to the agitated waves themſelves.

Theſe notices are ſufficient to repreſs that petulance of ridicule, with which the incident is ſure to be always treated at preſent, by the unthinking generality of our countrymen. But in order to convince the thinking, and to diſpel the doubts hanging upon *their* minds, let me now come cloſer to the point. Livy informs us, that Hannibal made uſe of vinegar and fire, for ſplitting the rocks of the Alps. Livy was no naturaliſt, and had merely to record the fact. But Pliny was; and in that very curious but much neglected work, that grand magazine of antient ſcience, his Natural Hiſtory, has left us ſome intimations, which unite by a lucky accident in confirming the truth of the hiſtorian. In one of theſe, he ſhows fire and vinegar to have been commonly uſed in the mines of Spain, for the breaking even of flints. In mines, he notes, "men find flints; THESE THEY BREAK "WITH FIRE AND VINEGAR; but, as vapour and "ſmoke are ſuffocating in mines, they oftener ſplit "them with iron wedges and hammers of the ſame "metal[1]." Nor was this proceſs confined to flints, or peculiar to the Spaniards. It was extended to rocks; and known by Pliny, known by the world at large, to be ſo extended. "Vinegar," adds the naturaliſt, "is a complete ſubduer, not only of meats" by promoting digeſtion, "but of very many ſub-

[1] Pliny xxxiii. 4. "Occurſant—ſilices; hos igni et aceto "rumpunt; ſæpius verò, quoniam in cuniculis vapor et fumus "ſtrangulat, cædunt fracturis;" and "in ſilice—eſt—terra,—cu-"neis eam ferreis aggrediuntur, et iiſdem malleis."

"ſtances

" ſtances beſide; WHEN POURED UPON ROCKS, IT " BREAKS THOSE WHICH AN ANTECEDENT FIRE " COULD NOT BREAK [m]."

Yet the ſtory of Cleopatra's diſſolving the union-pearl in vinegar, carries the knowledge of this ſeemingly chemical principle into an earlier period than Pliny's, and to a much greater diſtance than Rome. Pliny himſelf relates the fact, and is very particular in his narration; but I ſhall cite only the parts, that come immediately to my preſent purpoſe. In conſequence of a wager with Antony, that ſhe would give him an entertainment coſting eighty thouſand pounds, and " according to the commands of Cleo-" patra," he tells us, " her attendants ſet only one " veſſel before her, a veſſel of VINEGAR, THE " ROUGHNESS AND STRENGTH OF WHICH DISSOLVED " PEARLS —; and, while Antony was looking on to " ſee what ſhe was going to do, ſhe took an union-" pearl out of one of her ears, PLUNGED IT INTO THE " VINEGAR, waited TILL IT WAS LIQUIFIED, and " then SWALLOWED IT —: ſhe was alſo preparing " TO DISSOLVE THE PEARL IN HER OTHER EAR, by " THE SAME PROCESS; but was prevented by Plan-" cus [n]." This pearl was worth more than forty thouſand

[m] Pliny xxiii. 1. " In totum dómitrix vis hæc non ciborum " modò eſt, verùm et rerum plurimarum: ſaxa rumpit infuſum, " quæ non ruperit ignis antecedens."

[n] Pliny ix. 35. " Ex præcepto, miniſtri unum tantùm vas ante " eam poſuêre, aceti, cujus aſperitas viſque in tabem margaritas " reſolvit:

thouſand pounds of our money. Nor let us cheat ourſelves into a belief of the whole ſtory, which is too well authenticated to need any collateral aid; by ſuppoſing the liquid was one ſtudiouſly prepared by ſome cunning chemiſt of Alexandria, and falſely denominated vinegar*. Pliny himſelf has related a diſſolution of the ſame nature, as *previouſly* effected at *Rome* itſelf. It was there effected, he tells us, "upon union-pearls of great price, by Clodius the "ſon of Æſop the tragœdian; who, being left by "him the heir of a very ample fortune, reſolved that "Antony ſhould not glory too much in his triumvirate, compared with one who was next to a "player." He therefore drank off a liquified pearl of great value, "without any wager laid upon the "event, which would have been a more royal mode "of acting," as it was Cleopatra's, "and merely

"reſolvit; gerebat autem cùm maximè ſingulare illud, et verè "naturæ unicum opus," of which "duo fuere maximi uniones "per omne ævum," he ſays before; "itaque expectante Antonio "quidnam eſſet actura, detractum alterum merſit, ac liquefactum "abſorbuit: injecit alteri manum L. Plancus, — eum quoque pa-"tranti ſimili modo abſumere."

* Dutens 253—254. "I ſay, in a kind of vinegar, for at pre-"ſent we know not of any that can produce this effect: but as the "fact is ſo well atteſted, we muſt thence conclude that the queen "added ſomething to the vinegar, omitted by the hiſtorian; and "that Dioſcorides —, who was her phyſician, aſſiſted her at that "time with his aid, in enabling her thus to gain the wager —. "But even the queen herſelf was a great adept in this art, as ap-"pears from ſome of her performances, ſtill preſerved in the libra-"ries of Paris, Venice, and the Vatican."

"that

" that he might have the glory, of making his palate " to perceive how pearls taſted." Nor was he content with this; " but as they were wonderfully re- " liſhing, that he might not enjoy the luxury alone, " he *gave his gueſts an union-pearl each to ſwallow* [p]." This ſhows the practice of diſſolving pearls in vinegar, to have been not confined to Cleopatra, not peculiar to the cunning chemiſts of Alexandria, but known before at Rome, and at Rome aſtoniſhingly familiar too. For that theſe Roman diſſolutions were equally with Cleopatra's made in vinegar, is plainly intimated by Pliny, and is expreſsly aſſerted by Horace.

Filius Æſopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,
Silicet ut decies ſolidûm exſorberet, *aceto*
Diluit inſignem baccam [q]:

A pearl of price, drawn from Metella's ear,
The ſon of Æſop plunged in vinegar;
Then with proud luxury quaffed the melted maſs,
That in one draught eight thouſand pounds might paſs.

Nor need we cloſe this liſt of phyſical miracles and paradoxical luxuries, here. Caligula alſo, as Suetonius informs us, " ſwallowed the moſt precious

[p] Pliny ix. 35. " Prior id fecerat Romæ in unionibus magnæ " taxationis Clodius Tragœdi Æſopi filius, relictus ab eo in am- " plis opibus hæres, ne in triumviratu ſuo nimis ſuperbiat Anto- " nius, pene hiſtrioni comparatus; et quidem nullâ ſponſione ad " hoc productâ, quòd id magis regium erat, ſed ut experiretur in " gloriâ palati quid ſaperent margaritæ: atque ut mirè placuêre, " ne ſolus hoc ſciret, ſingulos uniones conviviis [convivis] abſor- " bendos dedit."

[q] Horace Sat. ii. 3. 239—241.

"pearls liquified in vinegar[r]." So ſimilar are all theſe incidents to Cleopatra's! So ſtrongly do they unite, to ſhow her liquefaction made with one and the ſame liquid as theirs! That we know of no mere vinegar, which will diſſolve pearls; cannot be alledged, I apprehend, becauſe we know of no wealth (I ſuppoſe) that has ever ventured upon an experiment ſo coſtly. Nor ſhall we in all probability ever hear of ſuch an experiment, till the wealth of Cleopatra devolves to ſome perſon, as oſtentatiouſly profuſe as herſelf; or till the accumulated wealth of a world ſhall again center in one city, and generate that wild freak of prodigality in an emperour, in the very ſon of a player, to think of quaffing *the wine of pearls*[s].

[r] Suetonius, Caligula 37. "Pretioſiſſimas margaritas, aceto "liquefactas, ſorberet."

[s] I think I have read of ſuch a wine by name, in ſome of thoſe oriental romances, in which Fancy, like another Phaeton, ſeems to mount their own orb of day, dazzles without illuminating the Earth, and burns without brightening the Heavens.

Pliny alſo records a *medical* experiment with vinegar (xxiii. 1), that deſerves to be known, and carries a near relation to my preſent ſubject. "Non eſt prætereundum in eo exemplum ingens: "ſiquidem M. Agrippa *ſupremis ſuis annis* conflictatus gravi mor- "bo pedum," the gout, I believe, "cùm dolorem eum perpeti "nequiret, unius medicorum *portentoſâ* ſcientiâ, ignorante Divo "Auguſto, tanti putavit *uſu pedum ſenſuque omni carere*, dummodo "et dolore illo careret, *demerſis in acetum calidum curribus* in acer- "rimo impetu morbi." Would heated vinegar, thus applied, now take away all feeling and ſenſe? Or would any phyſician now dare to adopt this "portentous" proof of knowledge, and preſcribe a bath of warm vinegar in the higheſt violence of a paroxyſm?

But

But leaving the natural hiſtorian to ſettle the mode and means of theſe diſſolutions, which throw a ſtrong light collaterally upon the practice of the Spaniſh miners, in ſplitting flints at times with fire and vinegar, and upon the practice of many nations, in heating rocks with fires and pouring vinegar upon them, in order to break them up; I go on to obſerve, that from theſe actions Hannibal undoubtedly adopted his, and only uſed the means which he knew to be uſed by others. Nor let us lull our underſtandings aſleep, and loſe our powers of judgment in the dreams of fancy, by ſuppoſing Hannibal, like Cleopatra, Clodius, and Caligula, to have waited the ſlow progreſs of a diſſolving *menſtruum*[t]. His time was too precious, to be waſted in a chemical operation. His vinegar was not uſed as a diſſolvent; and his fire was only to act, as equally a facilitating means for breaking up the rocks. Previous to the introduction of gunpowder into mines, it was uſual in the Engliſh and the German to ſplit the rocks with fires, and, juſt as Hannibal's were ſplit, with fires of wood. It is indeed the moſt antient method of ſplitting rocks in mines, that we find recorded in hiſtory; being noticed by Diodorus Siculus, as practiſed in ſome of the mines of Egypt[u]. Accordingly we know this

[t] Some have been almoſt ready to ſuppoſe, that Hannibal's vinegar was "quale ferè eſt illud quod in officinis *Aqua Fortis* appellatur, quæ ferrum ipſum conſumit" (Grævius's Theſaurus v. 965).

[u] Watſon's Chemical Eſſays i. 344—345.

method, not to be yet ſunk entirely in diſuſe among us[w]; and we find it continued familiarly in Switzerland and the Vallais, to the days of Simler. "In "our time," he ſays, "the miners act nearly in the "ſame manner as Hannibal acted; breaking with "fire the hardeſt veins of metal, which are rich in "themſelves, but too ſtrong for the pick-axe; be-"cauſe fire ſo ſoftens the hardeſt rocks, that they "become brittle[x]." In theſe exertions of ſubterraneous induſtry, however, we find no application of vinegar; though we do in the Spaniſh mines for the breaking of flints, and in many mines for the ſplitting of rocks. Yet vinegar has no action upon flints in general, remarks an eminent chemiſt; and Pliny might mean perhaps a particular ſpecies of them, which is called Chert, is found in beds within our own country, and raiſed in large quantities at Bakewell in Derbyſhire, in order to grind other flints by it for the uſe of potteries[y]. This conjecture I believe to be very juſt; as Pliny's flints are great maſſes of very hard ſtone, obſtructing the progreſs of the miner. "The gold that is dug in *adits*," he informs us, "is called canal gold—: theſe canals of "veins run through marble rocks, and the ſides of

[w] Watſon's Chemical Eſſays i. 344—345.

[x] Simler 219. "Noſtrâ ætate metallici eôdem ferè modo du-"riſſimas venas metallorum, fœcundas, ſed impatientes ferri, igni "frangunt; is enim duriſſima ſaxa ita mollit, ut maximè fiant "fragilia."

[y] Watſon's Chemical Eſſays i. 347 and ii. 262—263.

"the

" the *adits*, here and there; and thence have their " name; while the earth is propped up by pillars of " timber:—another mode" of mining " beats the " works of the giants; *ſhafts* are ſunk to a vaſt depth, " and the mountains are hollowed by candle-light—: " in *both* kinds of mines are found *flints*; theſe they " break with *fire and vinegar*." This was the practice in the days of Hannibal, retained ſtill to the days of Pliny. " But" in the days of Pliny a new mode had been adopted; and, though the other was ſtill continued, this was " more frequently" uſed. " Be- " cauſe vapour and ſmoke are ſuffocating in ſhafts " [Pliny means mines in general], they hew down " the flints in maſſes of about 150 pounds each, and " bear the maſſes on their ſhoulders night and day, " delivering them in the dark to the neareſt party; " while the remoteſt is in daylight. If the flint " *appears pretty long*, they follow the ſides of it, ſur- " rounding it with a trench. Yet we may more " eaſily judge of their labour, in the flint itſelf; for " it is an earth of a kind of clay mixt with grit " (they call it white) *almoſt inexpugnable*; they aſſail " it with iron wedges, and with hammers of the ſame " metal; and think *nothing harder than it*[2]." The flint

[2] Pliny xxxiii. 4. " Quod puteis foditur, canalicium vocant—; " hi venarum canales per marmor vagantur, et latera puteorum, " et huc illuc [huc et illuc]; inde nomine invento; telluſque lig- " neis columnis ſuſpenditur:—tertia ratio opera vicerit Gigan- " tum; cuniculis per magna ſpatia actis, cavantur montes ad lu- " cernarum lumina—; occurſant in utroque genere ſilices; hos " igni

flint of Pliny, therefore, is the chert of our own times, lying in beds within our Derbyſhire mines, and ſo hard as to be uſed for grinding the common flints. Yet with all this hardneſs, and though vinegar is found to have no operation upon common flints; it aſſuredly has upon them and it, when it is made to operate in the only form, to which Pliny has aſcribed its efficacy upon flints, *in conjunction with fire.* But Pliny aſſerts it to have ſuch an efficacy, *in ſuch a conjunction*; and the modern chemiſt with unconſcious ſophiſtry contradicts him, becauſe it has not *by itſelf.* The fact is, I believe, that vinegar has many virtues, with which the antients were familiarly acquainted, but of which the moderns are wholly ignorant; which are to this day as ſeemingly myſterious and incredible to us, as the tranquillizing power of oil upon water was within theſe few years; which ſome ſuch lucky diſcovery as Dr. Franklin's concerning the oil, can alone recall into credibility and uſe again; and which this very diſſertation of mine may perhaps ſerve, to bring before

" igni et aceto rumpunt; ſæpiùs verò, quoniam in *cuniculis* [Pli-
" ny's argument requires the word to be *fodinis*] vapor et fumus
" ſtrangulat, cædunt fracturis, cl libras ferri terram [I ſuppoſe,
" cl libras ferè terræ] agentibus, egeruntque humeris noctibus ac
" diebus, per tenebras proximis tradentes; lucem noviſſimi cer-
" nunt. Si longior videtur ilex, latus ſequitur [*Vet.* latera ſequun-
" tur], foſſam ambit quietè [*Vet.* foſſam in ambitu ducentes].
" Tamen in filice faciliùs exiſtimatur opera; eſt nanque terra ex
" quòdam argillæ genere, glareæ miſta (Candidam vocant), propè
" inexpugnabilis: cuneis eam ferreis aggrediuntur, et iiſdem mal-
" leis; nihilque durius putant."

the

the mind of the publick, to carry to the teſt of trial, and to ſettle with the oil in all their antient reputation again. The credited efficacy of vinegar is ſtrikingly apparent among the antients, in what I have already noticed; and much more ſtrikingly apparent, than the credited influence of oil. It was uſed for the diſſolution of pearls, it was uſed for the breaking of flints, it was uſed for the ſplitting of rocks; and was aſſuredly found an inſtrument uſefully powerful, in all theſe operations.

Modern times indeed ſeem to have diſcarded the agency of vinegar, as they had once diſcarded equally the efficacy of oil. We ſplit our rocks in mines with gunpowder, and our maſſes of moorſtone with wedges, at preſent. But we ſee ſome facts, even in our own time, and within our own iſland, that ſhow the uſe of a liquid cooperating with fire, to prepare moorſtones and rocks for ſplitting, under the ſtroke of a hammer or the point of a pickaxe. I allude to ſome, that have never yet been noticed by the pen of natural hiſtory; authors, in this kind of literature particularly, being the mere train-bearers of the world, coming after it at a reſpectful diſtance, and holding up that to view which would only trail on the ground behind it.

At Abury in Wiltſhire are the remains of a famous temple of the Britons, compoſed of huge maſſes of erected rock, that have been collected from the ſurface

ſurface of the downs adjoining, as ſome ſtill appear upon Marlborough downs; are generally denominated *Sarſens*, by the people of the country; and are proverbially diſtinguiſhed among them, for their hardneſs[a]. Yet theſe ſtones, ſo hard in themſelves, have been lately ſplit by the natives in a manner, very nearly reſembling Hannibal's proceſs with the rocks of the Alps, and only ſubſtituting a ſimple liquid for a ſtrong one. About the year 1694, a ſelf-taught Hannibal of Abury firſt invented the mode of demoliſhing theſe ſtones by fire and *water*; and executed it with ſucceſs. Then a ſecond inhabitant of the place became peculiarly eminent, in this Alpine kind of operation; gloried in his greater ſucceſs; and eclipſed the honour of the firſt diſcoverer. "The "method," ſays one who juſtly regrets the exertion of this Spaniſh kind of ingenuity, upon ſuch a venerable monument of antiquity, "is to dig a pit by "the ſide of the ſtone, till it falls down; then *to burn*

[a] *Sarſen* is derived by Dr. Stukeley in his Abury 16, from the Phœnician language; in accomodation to a wild hypotheſis, which the Iriſh have lately revived again, without ſeeming to know to whom they were originally obliged for it; and by which they and the Doctor would plant a colony of Phœnicians, in defiance of all hiſtory, upon the face of theſe Britiſh iſles. But it is only a Celtick word, ſignifying a rock or a rough thing. Carreg (Welſh) a ſtone, Carraigh (Iriſh) a great ſtone pitched upon an end, Carn (Armorick) a rock, and Carn (W and I) a heap of ſtones, do all come from Garbh (I) Garw (W) Haru (Corniſh), and Aru, Saru (A) rough or rugged; and all terminate in Arn, Carn, Garn, Sarn (A) a rock, Sarn (A and W) a pavement of ſtones. *Sarſen* therefore is a native term, for the native blocks of our moors.

"many

" *many loads of ſtraw under it:* they *draw lines of* " *water along it*, when *heated*; and then, *with ſmart* " *ſtrokes of a great ſledge-hammer*, its *prodigious* bulk " is divided into *many leſſer parts*[b]."

But, what is very remarkable, the very ſame proceſs appears to have been equally purſued, by an Engliſh gentleman in Scotland ſtill more recently. Aaron Hill, that ſtar of literature which would have ſhone with conſiderable brightneſs, if it had not happened to be ſo near to the ſun in Pope, and which ſtill ſhone brightly, in ſpite of all the enviouſly eclipſing light of that; even he, among other adventures of a ſpirit vigourous and enterpriſing, formed the plan of bringing timber from the Highlands, for the uſe of our royal navy. In 1728, therefore, he ſent the trees in chained floats down the Spey. " In their " paſſage," adds his biographer, " he found a great " obſtacle in the rocks." But either apprized of the mode uſed in Wiltſhire, or (as ſeems from a variation in his conduct) adopting the mode from the ſuggeſtions of his own mind, he removed the rocks by the uſe of fire and water. Upon them " he ordered " *fires to be made* when the river was low, and *great* " *quantities of water to be thrown*," not drawn in lines upon the heated ſurface of the rock, but thrown in ſcoops or ſheets upon it; " *by which means* they were

[b] Stukeley's Abury 25, 15, 16, 22, and 24.

" *broken*

" *broken to pieces* and *thrown down*; ſo that the paſ-
" ſage became eaſy to the floats [c]."

Theſe incidents ſhow us very ſtrongly the natural recourſe of the human mind, in different ages, and at different regions, to ſuch united inſtruments of operation as fire and liquid, for better ſplitting of rocks. The firſt liquid applied was probably water; the firſt which was brought upon the table, the firſt which was uſed in mechanical operations. Then refinement, arguing from the efficacy of vinegar in diſſolving ſome ſubſtances, expected from it a greater activity than water had, in preparing rocks for the pickaxe. *Vinegar* could not have been ſo uſed, till wines were made; and *Alegar*, which is its primitive appellation in all theſe weſtern regions of Europe, ſtill retained in the north of our own kingdom, though totally unknown in the ſouth of it, could not have been ſo applied before ale was firſt brewed in Egypt. Nor could refinement have ever adopted vinegar, if water had been equally efficacious. And water preſerved its credit only in thoſe regions, where refinement had *not* entered, and where the diſſolving virtues of vinegar were *not* celebrated.

Nor let us heſitate and pauſe in our application of vinegar to the rocks of Hannibal, concerning the nature of theſe rocks. The ſummits of the Alps are

[c] A new and general Biographical Dictionary. 1784. *A. Hill.*

almoſt

almoſt entirely of granite, the conſtituent *ſtrata* of the earth not lying, as it has been reaſonably ſurmiſed they did lie, according to their ſpecific gravities, but the heavieſt ſpreading in this inſtance over the top of all; and hence are ſo many blocks of granite found in the channels of the Alpine rivers, beaten down from the ſummits by the ſweeping of the rains, the driving of the ſnows, or the falling away of the ſides[d]. Theſe granites, except they be previouſly pulverized, cannot be fuſed by the moſt violent fires of the furnace itſelf[e]. But in their native ſtate they repoſe upon a bed, of either calcareous or free ſtone; which runs in horizontal banks through the mountains, to the very baſe of them[f]. Hence are derived, ſays the natural hiſtorian of the Alps, "the fragments of marble, and "of other kinds of calcareous ſtones, that are found

[d] Coxe i. 316, ſpeaking of the valley of St. Gothard, and the Reuſs burſting through it, ſays, "on each ſide" are "immenſe "ſhattered blocks of granite, of a beautiful greyiſh colour (and of "which the ſummits of theſe Alps are compoſed) confuſedly "piled together." In ii. 29. he adds: "large ſtones of granite "are uſually found at a ſmall diſtance from the extremities of the "glacier; theſe ſtones have certainly fallen from the mountains "upon the ice." Sauſſure i. 143. "Les hautes ſommités des "Alpes ſont preſque toutes de ce genre de pierre," the granite.

[e] Sauſſure i. 166. "Même par le feu le plus violent des four-"neaux."

[f] Sauſſure i. 201. "Le fond, ſur lequel ils [blocs de granit] eté "depoſés, eſt de pierre calcaire où de gres." In i. 226. he ſpeaks of ſome granites, "par une baſe de rocher calcaire, ſur lequel "chacun d'eux repoſe; cette baſe eſt une continuation les bancs "horizontaux de la montagne." Bourrit i. 233. "Les calcaires "compoſent les parties les plus baſſes des Alpes."

"very

" very frequent on the borders of the lake" of Geneva, " on the banks of the rivers, and in the interiour " of our hills [g]." This kind of ſtone, he adds, " is " eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed by its moderate hardneſs, " its *diſſolubility* (and with effervescence) in *acids*, and " *its converſion into quick-lime by the action of fire* [h]." In the firſt ideas of Hannibal's adventure, therefore, we ſhould ſeek for rocks of free or calcareous ſtone, as the objects of his ingenuity; and hope to encounter no rocks of granite, with him. But, as in fact Hannibal did not want to fuſe any rocks, we need not be apprehenſive of granites; and, as Hannibal did not wiſh to diſſolve any in his acids, or to convert any into quick-lime by his fires, we need not be ſolicitous for either calcareous or free ſtones. There is indeed a conſiderable difference in the ſubſtance of the Alps, between the northern and the ſouthern mountains. Though the northern, or thoſe of Switzerland, are compoſed of vaſt maſſes almoſt totally calcareous; yet the ſouthern, or thoſe of Italy, are not. The latter do not form ſuch broad and regular chains of calcareous rock, as the former. Nor are the calcareous mountains in the paſſage by mount Cenis, in

[g] Sauſſure i. 131. " Les fragmens de marbre et des autres eſ-" peces des pierres calcaires, ſe rencontrent tres-frequemment ſur " les bords du Lac, des rivieres, et dans l'interieur des nos col-" lines."

[h] Sauſſure i. 131. " Ce genre eſt facile à reconnoitre: ſa dureté " mediocre; ſa diſſolubilité, et avec effervescence, dans les acides; " ſa converſion en chaux vive par l'action du feu; ſont des carac-" teres, qui ne ſont point equivoques."

the

the roads over the two St. Bernards, in the ways over the Simplon and St. Gothard, fit to be compared with the calcareous mountains on the north[j]. In *thoſe*, adds Sauſſure, "the laminated rocks, the "granites, even reach down to the plains, and, if "there be any calcareous mountains, they are ſcat-"tered[k]." We are thus confined in our operations to granites. But what kind of granites are they? Sauſſure himſelf ſhall tell us. "St. Remy," he remarks, "is the laſt village that one finds upon this "route," upwards and from Italy: "in ſallying out "of this village, one paſſes along a narrow road, "carried over a laminated rock, abounding in quartz "and mica;" the quartz being one of the principal ingredients in granites, at once the cement and the baſis of many of them[l]; the mica being one of the moſt common ingredients, both in granites and in laminated rocks[m]. "This rock" near St. Remy, adds Sauſſure, "divides in *plates even and regular*; "thoſe, which we ſaw at St. Remy, were fetched "from *this mountain*[n]." And thoſe are thus deſcribed

[j] Sauſſure iv. 215—216.

[k] Sauſſure iv. 215. "Du coté meridional, au contraire, les "roches feuilletées, les granits, même arrivent juſqu' aux plaines; "et, s'il y a des montagnes calcaires, elles ſont éparſés."

[l] Sauſſure iv. 137 and 138.

[m] Sauſſure i. 129—130.

[n] Sauſſure iv. 222. "St. Remy eſt le dernier village, que "l'on rencontre ſur cette route——. En ſortant du village, on "paſſe par" &c. "Le ſentier que l'on ſuit eſt tracé—ſur une "roche fuilletée quartzeuſe et micacée, qui ſe diviſe en dalles

ſcribed by him before: "I admired at St. Remy the "laminated and very hard rocks, which ſeparate of "themſelves into tables *perfectly even and perfectly* "*dreſſed*; their matter is white quartz mixed with "yellow mica, and there are thin beds of this mica, "the parts of which, having little coheſion between "them, make the ſtone to ſplit according to their "direction. I meaſured one of them in the yard of "the inn: it was *ſix* feet in *length* and *three* in *breadth*, "yet not more than two inches in thickneſs[o]." Theſe are the very rocks of Hannibal, all formed in long thin layers, all ſeparating eaſily into ſlabs ſmooth and regular. If then the ſolid and un-laminated rocks of Abury yielded to fires of ſtraw, to lines of water, and to ſtrokes of ſledge-hammers; theſe of St. Remy might well ſubmit to accumulated fires of wood, the infuſion of vinegar, and the point of the pickaxe. They would break up indeed under all, very readily, in long and wide flakes of rock; and ſo expedite the work of reducing the perpendicular cliff, very greatly. Lying probably, in the ſunken ſtate of the plane

"planes et regulieres; celles, que nous avons vues à St. Remy, "ſont tirées de cette montagne."

[o] Sauſſure iv. 221. "J'admirai à St. Remi des roches feuille-"tées, tres-dures, qui ſe ſeparent d'elles-mêmes en tables parfai-"tement planes, et parfaitement dreſſées; leur matiere eſt de "quartz blanc, melé de mica jaunâtre; et ce ſont des couches "minces de ce mica, dont les parties, peu coherentes entr'elles, "decident la pierre á ſe ſeparer ſuivant leur direction. J'en me-"ſurai une dans la cour de l'auberge; elle avoit 6 pieds de lon-"gueur, et 3 de largeur, ſur une epaiſſeur de 2 pouces au plus."

of

of the road, with their edges appearing on the ſurface, and with their ſlabs dipping directly downwards into the hollow; one ſlab of ſix or ſeven feet in height, and three or four in breadth, forming perhaps the whole breadth and height of the perpendicular wall; lines of vinegar, drawn along the glowing and gaping edges, would make them gape ſtill more for the pickaxe. Then the cold of the vinegar above, a liquid colder than water, and the heat of the flame below, a heat greater in theſe thinly foliated ſtones than in blocks wholly un-foliated, acting in direct oppoſition to each other, *this* expanding and *that* contracting the ſubſtance of the ſtone; the whole maſs would be ready to ſplit aſunder in all its layers, from the impulſe of the two contrary powers; and inſtantly carry its tendency into operation, on feeling the point of the pickaxe between them. Juſt when it ſplit, the ſtone would *cry*, as the phraſe of our workmen is in breaking Corniſh moorſtones with wedges; a circumſtance, even noticed expreſsly by Silius Italicus himſelf, concerning the very rocks of Hannibal;

Dat gemitum patiens *reſoluto* pondere moles.

Finally theſe flakes of rock, only two inches in thickneſs at the moſt, and ſtill glowing from the fires, would be beat up very eaſily into rubbiſh; and thrown ſo, as to ſlope away the perpendicular wall into a regular deſcent [p].

All

[p] Of what kind the ſtones of Abury are, is not eaſy to be diſcerned

All ſerves to vindicate the phyſical poſſibility of this extraordinary account in Livy, to the fulleſt extent of it. Yet there is another poſſibility ſtill behind, which it is requiſite equally to vindicate, in order to put this long-exploded incident in a proper point of view. It is however an hiſtorical one, lies within a ſhort compaſs, and is merely this. However vinegar may have the power, of ſoftening a glowing rock for ſplitting; yet whence could Hannibal derive his vinegar, for that purpoſe? This queſtion has been repeatedly propoſed with all that air of triumph, with which ignorance often inſults over knowledge, and folly wantons in imaginary conqueſts of wiſdom. But let folly ſuppreſs its broad grin, and ignorance keep in its vacant ſtare, while I

cerned through the ſhifting language of Stukeley. "The ſtones, "of which Stonehenge is compoſed, beyond any controverſy "come from thoſe called the Gray Weathers, upon Marlborough "Downs *near Abury*" (Stonehenge 5); "the ſtones of the Gray "Weathers are of a baſtard ſort of *marble*" (ibid.); "paſſing "from Marlborough hither," to Abury, "'tis the common topic "of amuſement for travellers, to obſerve the Gray Weathers on "Marlborough Downs, which are *of the ſame kind of ſtones as this* "*of our antiquity*" (Abury 14); "the ſtone being a kind of *marble*, "or *rather granite*" (16). The moorſtones on the waſtes and hill-"tops of Cornwall, Derbyſhire, Devonſhire, Yorkſhire, and other "places," are "of a *harder* nature than theſe, and much the ſame "as the Egyptian *granite*" (17). "When broke, it looks whitiſh "like *marble*; it would bear a good poliſh, but for a large quan-"tity of bluiſh *granules* of ſand, which are ſoft, and give it a *gray-*"*iſh* or ſpeckled colour" (ibid.). They are real *granites*, I believe, like Mr. Coxe's "blocks of *granite* of a beautiful *greyiſh* colour" (i. 316), and from this called *Gray* Wethers.

reply

reply decisively to the question. Hannibal did not carry the vinegar with him, in a just foresight of the gulph that would come yawning across his course, and in a formed resolution of applying it to the rocks. He could not foresee, what even his guides did not expect. How then could he have his vinegar, and such a quantity of it, ready for the work? He had it thus. He carried his provisions with him, being obliged to do so; as he could not depend upon the contingency of a supply, from the nations below or upon the Alps, through which he was to march. For *this* reason, as I have noticed before [q], he had such a train of *cars* attending upon his army. "The "army of Hannibal," says Polybius, "could not "possibly carry with them through so many places, "and for so many myriads, an abundance of pro-"visions; and the greatest part of *what they did* "*carry* was *destroyed*, when the *cars* were overturned" down the precipices at the entrance [r]. Of these provisions, the *solids* must have been easily recoverable, whether fleshmeat salted or un-salted, but salted

[q] In Vol. i. Chap. iii. Sect. i.

[r] Polybius iii. 60. Οὐδὲ γαρ διακομιζειν εις τοσαυτας μυριαδας, δια τοσουτων τοπων, δαψιλη τα προς την τροφην. οιοι τ' ησαν' α τε και παρεκομιζον, αμα τη των υποζυγιων καταφθορα, και τελως τα πλειστα συναπωλοντο. "For in a march *so long and difficult*, it was *utterly* impossi-"ble to bring with them such supplies, as might fully satisfy the "wants of *so numerous* an army; and even those which they had "brought were almost all lost among the precipices, with the "beasts that *carried* them," των υποζυγιων, the beasts that *drew them in the cars* (i. 370—371).

 assuredly,

assuredly, like that of our sailors at present. The *liquids* alone could have been lost by the fall. *These* must have been entirely lost; as the barrels of liquor would dash against the rocks in their fall, and be staved. Yet what was the common liquor of an army then? It was VINEGAR. This we know to have been the stated and customary beverage, for the Roman soldiers; and to have been only a few years ago taken up from them by those, who affect to call themselves the Holy Roman Empire, the Imperialists of Germany in the war of the Emperour Joseph against the Turks. We may therefore conclude it to have been equally so for the Carthaginians, and for all nations that had wine. We are sure, that the Carthaginians excluded wine itself from their camps[s]; and are as sure, that neither they nor the Romans had any ale among them. The Romans and the Carthaginians, we also find, agreed very exactly with each other in their ordinary *food*. This was equally with both, that kind of hasty-pudding which was denominated *Puls* by the former[t]. We have

[s] Aristoteles i. Æcon. cap. v. Επειδη η τȣ οινȣ ποσις και τȣς ελευθερȣς υβριςας ποιει, και πολλα εθνη απεχεται και των ελευθερων, οιον Καρχηδονιοι επι ςρατιᾶς κ. τ. λ. (Lipsius de Militiâ Romana 325. edit. ult. Antverpiæ. 1614).

[t] Pliny xviii. 8. "Pulte autem, non pane, vixisse longo tempore Romanos, manifestum." Lipsius adds De Mil. Rom. 325: "Notum a Plauto *pultifagos* Romanos appellari; et in Ammiano "est de Juliano Imperatore, jam in castris, Cænaturo pultis portio "parabatur exigua." But Cato in his Husbandry describes very circumstantially, what he calls expressly "Puls Pœnica" (Græ-

vius

have therefore an additional reaſon for concluding, that the ordinary *liquor* of both was the ſame at this period. And what the liquor or the food of the common men was at home, naturally became the ſtanding proviſion for the ſoldiers in the field. The military drink of the Carthaginians therefore, was the ſame as the military beverage of the Romans; a mixture of vinegar and water, even that very mixture, which Appian ſtates expreſsly to have been the liquid of Hannibal at the rocks[u]; and known among the Romans by that appellation of *Poſca*, which is ſtill

vius x. 1500). This "puls," which was a kind of pudding made of meal, water, and ſalt, ſeaſoned with cheeſe, eggs, or honey (Grævius xii. 145 and 232); is the ſame a little varied, as what the generality of the common people in Italy breakfaſt upon at preſent. This they now call by the kindred and equally old appellation, of *polenta*; "a ſort of pudding made with the flower of "Turkey-corn, on which, while it is hot, they ſpread ſome freſh "butter, with the addition of ſome walnuts or a ſlice of cheeſe, "if they can afford it" (Baretti's Account of Italy ii. 133. Dublin).—From this food, ſo dreſſed, is derived "*Pouls, Puls*, "bouillie, B.; — *Pulta*, en Italien, bouillie; *Pôte*, eſpece de "bouillie en baſſe Normandie; *Pouſſate*, bouillie en Meſſin" (Bullet iii. 274); and from the contempt, which a beef-fed Engliſhman (I ſuppoſe) entertained for ſuch ſlender kind of diet, that expreſſion in the north of England, "*Pouſſe* and traſh," for any thing contemptible. Yet whence comes our application of *Pulſe* in elegant language, and of *Pouſſe* in Spenſer's, to leguminous plants; the latter meaning not *peas*, as Johnſon thinks, but, as analogy ſhows, *pulſe*?

> But who ſhall judge the wager won or loſt?
> That ſhall yonder heard-groom, and none other,
> Which over the *pouſſe* hitherward doth poſt.

[u] Appian i. 545. Ὄξει καὶ ὀξυῒ.

uſed in the Milaneſe for ſlender wine [w]. Hannibal would thus have a full ſupply of the requiſite liquor, in his ſtock of proviſions for the army. His tools, and his vinegar, would be equally furniſhed from his attending ſtores. His tools needed only to be thoſe pickaxes for cleaving the rocks, which were uſed in opening the ground for the tent-poles; and thoſe hammers for breaking the flakes into rubbiſh, which were equally uſed in driving the poles. And by uſing the vinegar juſt as the men of Abury uſed the water, merely for drawing lines upon the burning rock; one or two barrels would be ſufficient [x].

Having

[w] Grævius x. 1500. "*Poſcam* hunc fuiſſe volunt, quod qui-"dem vocabulum pro tenui hodie vino apud Inſubres uſurpatur."

[x] Vegetius iii. 3. "Frumenti verò, vini, *aceti*, necnon etiam "ſalis, omni tempore neceſſitas declinanda;" and in iv. 7. as proviſions againſt a ſiege, "vini, *aceti*, ceterarumque frugum vel "pomorum, congerendæ ſunt copiæ." Spartian in Peſcennius Niger c. 10 ſays, "juſſit vinum in expeditione neminem bibere, "ſed *aceto* univerſos eſſe contentos." This emperour, it is obſerved in c. ii, had "Marium ante oculos,—et duces tales; nec "alias fabulas unquam habuit, niſi de *Annibale* ceteriſque tali-"bus." Spartian in Hadrian c. 10 ſays thus: "cibis etiam caſ-"trenſibus in propatulo libenter utens, hoc eſt, larido, caſeo, et "poſcâ, exemplo Scipionis Æmiliani, et Metelli, et auctoris ſui "Trajani." But let me carry the notice, agreeably to the examples here mentioned, into a higher period than the days of Vegetius, of Peſcennius Niger, or of Hadrian. In the records of our religion, St. John xix. 29, we have theſe words, "there was a "veſſel full of *vinegar*," σκευος ην εκειλο οξους μεστον. This was not brought, as has been ſuppoſed by ſome (Grævius v. 966), for a potion of comfort to the dying ſufferers on the croſs. It was not given to either of the thieves. Nor was it given to our Saviour himſelf,

Having now aſſerted both the phyſical and the hiſtorical *poſſibility*, of Livy's related incidents at the rock; I cloſe a diſſertation, which was abſolutely neceſſary to the removal of prejudice, with a vindication equally neceſſary of their hiſtorical *certainty*. Livy indeed ſhould be a ſufficient witneſs for that certainty, and his evidence be acknowledged as valid hiſtory. But mankind are governed by humour in the literary world, as well as in the ſocial; and a humour has been ſhowing itſelf for ſome time among ſcholars, as I have noted before, of raiſing Polybius into an eminence un-merited in the hiſtory of Hannibal, and ſinking Livy into a degradation undeſerved by him. Livy indeed has his faults, and I have freely reprehended them; but Polybius has his too, and I have as freely expoſed them. I have particularly ſhown the former, to relate many, many circumſtances which Polybius omits, and which are of moment to the narrative. I have even ſhown him relating one, which is eſſential to the completeneſs of Polybius's own hiſtory, and yet is entirely omitted by Polybius's own pen; the perplexed, the erroneous, the retrograde progreſſion of the Carthaginians, in all thoſe wilds from the hill of ambuſcade to the aſ-

himſelf, till he cried "I thirſt." It was too "a veſſel *full* of vine-"gar." From theſe circumſtances, and from the preceding account, it appears to have been a part of the drink, which was allotted to the ſoldiery at Jeruſalem, which was taken daily out of the ſtores for them, and diſtributed in a proper proportion to this band of men.

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cent of St. Bernard, into which they had been drawn by the very guides of Polybius himſelf. Polybius indeed, in the preſent portion of our hiſtory, does not omit merely the application of vinegar to the rocks, as the wild cry of thoſe, who prefer Polybius to Livy upon that point, would lead us to ſuppoſe; but mentions not even the trees cut down, the fires made, or the pickaxes uſed upon the glowing rock. He takes no notice of *any* of the *means*, by which the work was effected. He remarks only the reſult of them all. Shall *he* then be urged as a ſilent witneſs, againſt the uſe of *one* of the means; when he is equally ſuch a witneſs, if he is any at all, againſt the uſe of *every* means? Surely he ſhall not. And that ever he has been ſo urged, is a ſtrong proof of the fooliſhneſs of criticiſm, looking only at a ſingle point, and blind to every thing elſe; juſt catching ſight of a grain of ſand, fixing its whole attention upon that, and loſt to an univerſe beſides. Let us then hear no more of the ſilence of Polybius, as oppoſed to the atteſtation of Livy; unleſs *all* the facts, *all* the circumſtances, equally omitted by Polybius, are meant to be equally annihilated with this; unleſs the rocks particularly we mean to break up with Polybius, *without any one operation interpoſed for the purpoſe*. The declaration of Livy, the declaration of Polybius, is fully competent for any incident, without wanting one to ſtand by the ſide of the other, and repeat his declaration. Nor have ever the favourers of *Livy* aſcended to that height of abſurdity,

to

to tear away from the hiſtory all that he has omitted and Polybius has noticed, and ſo reduce the narrative to a naked ſkeleton. But here Livy only does, what Polybius ſhould in common-ſenſe have done before him; only deſcribes the inſtrumental cauſes, while he relates the combined effects.

Livy, however, is not the only writer, who has recorded the application of vinegar as one of theſe cauſes. Juvenal ſpeaks of it, as a fact peculiarly characteriſtick of Hannibal's expedition, and as a part equally credited with the whole. In the moſt elevated of all his ſatires, and in his higheſt flight of panegyrick upon Hannibal, he very properly calls out this grand action into view, and places it in a central point of light.

> .....Oppoſuit Natura Alpemque nivemque;
> Diducit ſcopulos, et montem rumpit ACETO:
>
> Though Nature rears her Alps and piles her ſnows,
> The ſtrong rocks burſt, and the proud mountain bows,
> Before his VINEGAR.

This indeed is the raiſed language of poetry, yet ſubſtantiates the general truth very plainly. But Appian relates the incident, in all the ſoberneſs of proſe. Hannibal "came to the Alpine mountains," he ſays, "and aſcended them; and, there being much froſt "and ſnow, he cut down timber, he burned it, he "extinguiſhed the aſhes with fire and VINEGAR, with "iron hammers he beat down the rock when it was

"thus

"thus ſoftened, and formed a road[y]." This is very pointed and particular, though it is not preciſely juſt; and comes in with great energy, to eſtabliſh the principal fact. But Marcellinus ſhows us the continuing faith of the Romans concerning it, to the very laſt. Hannibal, he informs us, "cut down the "rock which was immenſely high; having previouſly "diſſolved it with a great force of burning flames, and "with an infuſion of VINEGAR[z]." Thus authenticated by the united teſtimonies of Marcellinus, of Appian, of Juvenal, and of Livy; the incident ſtands upon the hiſtory like a ſtrong fortreſs built upon a hill, un-aſſailable from its own barriers, more un-aſſailable ſtill from its advantageous poſition, and laughing at all the impotence of hoſtility from both. Yet let me, like a very cautious engineer, a Coehorn or a Vauban in the polemicks of hiſtory, add to the ſecurity of the fortreſs, by throwing up a couple of redoubts before it. We are not without a ſimilar fact in the annals of the Romans themſelves, at a period not very far from Hannibal's, and prior to the days of Livy. When Metellus beſieged the town of Eleuthera in Crete, as Dion Caſſius tells us, ſome

[y] Appian i. 545. Ελθων δε επι τα Αλπια ορη,—επεθαινε κακεινοις—· χιονος τε πολλης ουσης και κρυους, την μεν υλην τεμνων τε και καιων, την δε τεφραν σθεννυς υδατι και ξει, και την πειραν, εκ τουδε ραφαραν γιγνομενην, σφυραις σιδηραις θραυων, και οδοποιων.

[z] Marcellinus xv. 10. p. 109—110. "Exciſâque rupe in im-"menſum elatâ, quam cremando vi magnâ flammarum, acetoque infuſo, diſſolvit."

traitors

traitors within fixed upon "a certain tower, which "was built of bricks, was very large, and very dif- "ficult to be aſſaulted; moiſtened it continually by "night with VINEGAR," and raiſed (I ſuppoſe) a fire againſt it within; "*thus rendered it vulnerable*" to the battering-rams of Metellus; "and he maſtered the "town by the treaſon [a]." But, what is ſtill more aſtoniſhing, we have a ſimilar incident in modern hiſtory, in the modern hiſtory of Europe, and in hiſtory ſo modern as only the middle of the laſt century. When the duke of Guiſe went from France on his expedition to Naples, he had the ſame application made to the walls of a tower, and he derived the ſame advantage from it [b]. So very clearly does the world appear, exerciſing an art for the demolition of rocks and ſtones, through a long train of ages; though naturaliſts have been wholly ignorant of it! So far behind the world are its very train-bearers, ſhuffling with unequal ſteps after it, and too remote to behold its very movements!

[a] Dio xxxvi. 1. p. 87. Πυργον γαρ τινα οι προδιδονλες εκ τε πλινθων πεποιημενον, και μεγιστον, δυσμαχωλαλον τε ονλα, οξει συνεχως κυκλος διεξρεξαν, ωστε θραυστον γενεσθαι; and πολιν εκ προδοσιας ελων.

[b] Ibid. a note. "Vide Harduinum ad Plinium xxxiii. 1. "[*Saxa rumpit* &c.], qui in Neapolitanâ expeditione ſimili arte "uſum annotat."

V. IN

—V.—

In this manner then, did Hannibal break down the perpendicular wall at the commencement of the chaſm, and ſlope away the road down into the hollow. But to ſave himſelf the trouble and time of going too far back, in breaking up the rocks and forming his ſlope from them; he rendered the deſcent into the hollow eaſier, by giving it two or three curvatures in its courſe [c]. He thus made a paſſage down into the chaſm, for his cavalry and for his baggage. But he had a greater difficulty ſtill before him. When the plane of the road had ſunk under the force of the earthquake, it had left its two banks of rock, ſtanding up erect on each ſide of it, and therefore forming a very deep, very narrow way along it. This was ſo narrow, notes Polybius, "that neither for the elephants, nor for the cars, was "it poſſible to paſs through the ſtrait [d]." It was not

[c] Livy xxi. 37. "Molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos."

[d] Polybius iii. 54. Τοπον, ουτε τοις θηριοις, ουτε τοις υποζυγιοις, δυνατον ην παρελθειν δια την στενοτητα. "A place, that neither the ele-"phants, nor the beaſts of burthen," τοις υποζυγιοις, the draught-cattle, ſo perpetually does Mr. Hampton confound the αχθοφοροι with the τα υποζυγια, the horſes of burden with the draught-horſes! "could in any manner paſs [for its narrowneſs]." Mr. Hampton omits the very cauſe of all, though aſſigned by his author.

5 poſſible

poſſible for the cars, becauſe of the chaſm; it was not poſſible for the elephants, for this and an additional reaſon. When the earthquake, that ſunk the plane of the road, left the ſides of it ſtanding up in two walls of rock; then, for want of the original counter-balance to the natural preſſure of the ground on either hand, it had bent the two ſides nearer to each other. It had bent them moſt above, becauſe there the reſiſtance was leaſt; and leaſt below, becauſe there the oppoſition was moſt. It had thus left a road, wide enough for a paſſage below, but blocked up by the projecting rocks above. Yet it had actually ſunk the road ſo deep, let us remember, that one of the light infantry could with difficulty deſcend into it, holding by the roots and buſhes at the ſide. The plane of the road therefore, as I have already intimated, was ſunk ſix or ſeven feet. There was accordingly room for a loaded horſe and a loaded car, to paſs under the rocks; though there was not for an elephant. Hannibal actually paſſed under them the day afterward, with all his cavalry and all his baggage; leaving his elephants, and his main body, behind him. The exigency of the caſe demanded an alteration in his conduct; and he haſtened with his ſtarving horſes, to the fine paſtures at the foot of the Alps. He paſſed down the deſcent and under the rocks, ſo early in the day; that he reached the lower and warmer ground, before night. There he found himſelf freed from the ſnow. There he inſtantly encamped, and even turned his numerous horſes

horſes to graze, in ſome paſtures adjacent to his camp; till he could be joined by the elephants and infantry above[e].

Hannibal had thus reduced himſelf voluntarily to the ſituation, in which he was compelled to reſt at the hill of ambuſcade before. His baggage and his cavalry were once more ſeparated, from his main body. Even he himſelf was now ſeparated alſo. But there was no danger of any attack upon them now, from the Salaſſi. If there had been, the formidable elephants were with them. The danger indeed was with the baggage, ſo inviting to the predatory ſpirit of the enemy, and ſo deſerted now by its principal guards the elephants. This was the reaſon undoubtedly, why Hannibal now quitted his uſual ſtation at the head of the main body, and took the command of the cavalry. He could then ven-

[e] Polybius iii. 55. Τοις μεν ουν υποζυγιοις και τοις ιπποις ικανην εποιησε παροδον, εν ημερα μια· διο και ταυτα μεν ευθεως διαγαγων, και καλεσραλοπεδευσας περι τας εκφευγοντας ηδη την χιονα τοπους, διαβηκε προς τας νομας. "In one day's time there was ſufficient room for "the horſes," meaning the cavalry and the burden-horſes, "and "the beaſts of burthen," τοις υποζυγιοις again, the draught-cattle, "to *deſcend*," literally, to *paſs through*: "theſe were immediately "conducted *down*," literally *through*; "and having gained the "*plains*," of which there is no mention in Polybius, he ſpeaking of *places* only, "were ſent way to *paſture*, in *places where no ſnow* "*had fallen*" (i. 364). Thus Mr. Hampton *diſmiſſes the caſtle to paſture*, inſtead of making *Hannibal encamp*, "in places where no "ſnow had fallen!" Nor does he make Hannibal encamp at all. So unfaithful is the wrong ſide of the tapeſtry, to the right!

ture

ture, under the protection of his uſual vigilance, and with the maintenance of a ſtrong guard continually poſted in his camp, to let the horſes repoſe and re-invigorate themſelves, in the graſs of ſome contiguous paſtures. In the mean time his infantry were laboriouſly employed, in making the hollow paſſable for the elephants. They ſet to the work, not as on the perpendicular wall before, with all hands that could be employed upon a ſpace ſo ſmall; but, as at a work much longer in extent, ſure to be alſo longer in continuance, and therefore much heavier in toil, by parties relieving each other. Their buſineſs was thus carried on in the mode of mining, without any intermiſſion of labour. Their aim was to cut down the projecting rocks above, and to open them into a narrow paſſage for the tall elephants. This from the length of the hollow, about a thouſand feet, would be a taſk of great labour. The elephants were ſtarving all the while. There was graſs indeed upon the ground, but it was buried under the ſnow. The leaves of the trees, alſo, muſt have been ſhaken to the ground by thoſe wintry blaſts, which had brought on the ſnow[f]. In their original ſtate of wildneſs, elephants would have contrived to pick up a ſcanty

[f] The larch, we muſt remember, was the tree of the wood in which the Carthaginians now were; and the larch, ſays Simler 323, "abieti, pino, et piceæ affinis eſt, cortice quàm picea aſperiore, "frondibus pinguioribus, mollioribus, et magis denſis, quas ta-"men *autumno* amittit." Autumn ended with the ſetting of the Pleiades, and during Hannibal's halt on St. Bernard.

meal for a while, by browſing upon the tendereſt branches of the trees. But the artificial life, to which a domeſticated elephant is inured, ſoon ſuperſedes the appetites of ſavage ſolitude, as no longer neceſſary, and ſubſtitutes others that are now neceſſary, in their room. The poor animals had alſo been tranſported from the warmth of their native climes, and brought to encounter the blaſts, the ſnows, the froſts of the Alps altogether. They were thus reduced to great diſtreſs. This however was but ſlightly produced by the ſnow burying the graſs; as there was equally ſnow, and even no graſs under it, during their halt of two days upon Great St. Bernard. It was occaſioned therefore, by the concurrence of another circumſtance with all at preſent. *The general ſtores for the army began to fail.* The Carthaginians would thus be doubly compelled by the delay at the chaſm, to furniſh out corn for the elephants with a very ſparing hand. In this condition they and the infantry were obliged to continue, for TWO WHOLE DAYS. The men ſuffered ſeverely in the continued employ. But they completed the work at laſt, carried the elephants along the coved hollow, and came down with them to Hannibal[s].

Near

[s] Polybius iii. 55. Τες δε Νομαδας ανα μερος προηγε προς την οικοδομιαν· και μολις εν ημεραις τρισι, κακοπαθησας, διηγε τα θηρια, και ταδε συνεβαινε κακως διαλειθεισθαι υπο τε λιμε. Polybius here confines the labour to the *Numidians*, by whom he means the Africans in general; and ſo diſcharges the reſt of the infantry from the toil, the Africans (as we ſhall ſoon ſee from Polybius himſelf) being only

Near St. Remy the road is traced by the eye of a traveller, particularly deſcriptive and lively; and the very view of Hannibal's chaſm, I think, is pointed

only three fifths of the whole army. But to ſuppoſe that any part of the infantry was excuſed, is very injudicious in this hiſtorian. In ſuch an exigency, all would be employed ſucceſſively; and, only for the ſake of employing all, were all kept with the elephants at the hollow. "The *Numidians* were then commanded "to *enlarge* the road," literally, to go on in *conſtructing* the road, "that the elephants might alſo paſs." How ſtrangely does it ſound to the ear of thinking criticiſm, that a road, which was *large* enough for beaſts of burden, ſhould be made *more* large for an elephant! This paradox reſults from Mr. Hampton's not underſtanding, and therefore not ſpecifying, the mode in which the road was *enlarged* for the elephants, *by opening it above*. Polybius indeed ſpecifies the mode no more than his tranſlator, but then ſays nothing concerning the *enlargement*. If Mr. Hampton choſe to *enlarge* the road "that the elephants might alſo paſs," he ſhould certainly have reconciled his *enlargement* with the context. "But "ſo laborious was the taſk," adds Mr. Hampton in the paraphraſtick language which he always uſes, "that, though freſh "men ſucceeded to thoſe that were fatigued, it was not without "*great* difficulty that they completed it, in *three* days continued "toil: after which, theſe beaſts *came down from the mountains*," literally, *paſſed through the ſtrait*, "being almoſt *exhauſted and ſpent* "with famine" (i. 364). Mr. Hampton has taken no pains, to acquaint himſelf with his author's courſe of hiſtory, and therefore miſ-underſtands the tenour of his language. What Polybius here ſays of *Hannibal*, Mr. Hampton applies to the *Numidians*; and has thus made the *three* days which relate to Hannibal only, refer to the Numidians who had only *two*. See the text hereafter, for the time.——Livy alſo ſays xxi. 37, what can ſuit only this *middle* region of the Alps, though he has applied it himſelf to the *ſummits*: "nuda—ferè cacumina, et, *ſiquid eſt pabuli, obruunt nives*." There is no graſs on the *top* of the Alps. There was none at the encampment of Hannibal there, as Polybius informs us. There was ſome, as Polybius equally informs us, only in the *middle* region of the mountains, υπο μεσην την παραρειαν (iii. 55).

out to us. "The villages," he ſays, "the towns on "their elevated ſites, the farmhouſes on their hang- "ing and inſulated flats, arreſted our attention, and "embelliſhed *our route*," as they were journeying *up* the hills to St. Remy: "we ſaw what we *had already* "*ſeen* from the ſide of Cormayeur, A NARROW ROAD, "and the gates under which we muſt needs paſs[h]; *theſe* being a gate at the northern ſide of St. Remy, through a long wall that marks the boundary of Savoy, and another about nine miles to the ſouth of St. Remy, which is the limit of Piedmont[i]. The writer thus glances only at the principal object, becauſe he had deſcribed it before. "From this place," he *then* ſaid of Cormayeur, "we had in perſpective be- "fore us almoſt all the valley, that *we were to tra-* "*verſe:* it appeared very pictureſque to us, in THE "LITTLE STRAITS THAT HAPPEN TO ABUT THERE, "the fair rocks, the verdant hills, the antient caſtles, "THE ROAD, THAT PASSES UNDER THE PROJECTING "ROCKS, along the ſteep terraces," &c[k]. Here

[h] Bourrit iii. 267. "Des villages, des bourgs elevés, des me- "tairies ſur des plateaux ſuſpendus et iſolés, charmoient nos re- "gards, et embelliſſoient notre route: nous vîmes ce que nous "avions déjà vu du coté de Cormayeur, un chemin etroit, et des "portes ſous leſquelles il nous fallut paſſer."

[i] Sauſſure iv. 222 and 219.

[k] Bourrit iii. 259. "De ce lieu, nous eumes devant nous la "perſpective de preſque toute la vallée, que nous avions à tra- "verſer; elle nous parut tres-pittoreſque; de petites gorges, qui "viennent y aboutir; de beaux rochers, des collines verdoyantes, "d'antiques chateaux; la route, qui paſſe ſous des rocs en ſaillie, "ſur des terraſſes eſcarpées," &c.

the oppoſition between the road along the ſteep terraces, and the way under the projecting rocks, ſhows the latter to have the projection on *both* ſides, to have *therefore* no terrace-like ſteepneſs of a bank to it, and *ſo* to be puſhing under the rocks that (in the *literal* language of the author) come *ſallying* over it[l]. But, in order to appropriate and localize ſtill more theſe touches of a pencilling writer, let me ſubjoin the hints of another author; who ſays that "*St. Remy*, "ſituated at the *bottom* of A VERY NARROW STRAIT, "at the *entrance* of a foreſt of larches which lifts itſelf "above it, carries with it an appearance truely wild "and Alpine[m]." This fixes all to the road of Hannibal. That road we have ſeen before to be particularly *narrow*, juſt broad enough for a burdened horſe and a loaded car. That *covered way* too of the rocks, *under* which we have equally ſeen Hannibal paſs with his cavalry and baggage, and *through* which was only an opening afterwards made to admit the paſſage of an elephant, would naturally become an object conſpicuous and remarkable at a diſtance. The Romans would find the road very practicable, as Hannibal left it; they would naturally continue it, therefore, in that practicable ſtate; and the road, ſo celebrated for its detention of Hannibal, for his new

[l] "Sous des rocs en *ſaillie*."

[m] Sauſſure iv. 220—221. "St. Remy cependant, ſitué au fond "d'une gorge tres-etroite, à l'entrée d'une forêt de melcles qui "s'eleve au-deſſus de lui, a une phyſionomie agreſte et vraiment "Alpine."

formation of it, and for his application of fire and vinegar in the act, remains in all its Carthaginian condition, I believe, to this very moment.

Thus were the two parts of Hannibal's army, that had been ſeparated by this road from each other for days, once more united again. But where is the whole army at preſent? This ſeems not to have been ever conſidered, by the delineators of Hannibal's route. Yet the point demands our full conſideration. In a long chain of movements, that extends from the lower part of the Rhone to the higher, and acroſs the Alps into Italy; every link muſt be examined, every link muſt be found firm in itſelf, every link muſt hook cloſely with the preceding. To make the preſent do ſo, I muſt open a little the hiſtory and the geography of this Alpine or Sub-alpine region, in which we now are.

—VI.—

THE Salaſſi, who inhabited all this portion of the Alps which we have juſt been traverſing, are more noticed in that comprehenſive hiſtory of one nation, which infolds half the nations of the globe nearly within its circle, than any other of the Alpine tribes. They are noticed ſo early by the Romans, as in 75 years only after the march of Hannibal through their country.

country. We then find they had a number of *ſtream-works* among them, in which they diſcovered what is the moſt rare of all the metals upon earth, and is therefore made the higheſt ſignature of earthly opulence, *gold*. For the proſecution of theſe, they drew off the waters of their river the Doria, ſluiced them away into a multiplicity of little channels, and left the main channel dry. Theſe were in their lower grounds about the town of Aoſta. Yet at the time, as the relator of this part of their hiſtory informs us, "they "were the lords of the paſſes" over the Alps; being ſo in concert with the Seduni, as I have previouſly obſerved, and as the Savoyards are in concert with the Vallaiſans at preſent. But the men, he adds, "who "cultivated the plains below them," and who muſt therefore have been the Inſubres, as the conquerors of the Libui Galli on the *eaſtern* bank of the Doria, of the Taurini on the *weſtern*, and of both at the union of the Doria with the Po; were too much affected with the loſs of their current from the hills on the north, not to reſent this unnatural interception of it. A kind of perpetual warfare was thus kept up between them[a]. The Romans interfered in the diſpute,

[a] Strabo iv. 314. Εχει δε χρυσεια η των Σαλασσων, α κατειχον ισχυοντες οι Σαλασσοι προτερον, καθοπερ και των παροδων ησαν κυριοι· προσελαμβανε δε πλειστον εις την μεταλλειαν αυτοις ο Δουριας ποταμος, εις τα χρυσοπλυσια· διοπερ επι πολλους τοπους σχιζοντες εις τας εξοχετειας το υδωρ, το κοινον ρειθρον εξεκενουν· τουτο δ' εκεινοις μεν συνεφερε προς την του χρυσου θηραν, τους δε γεωργουντας τα υπ' αυτοις πεδια, της αρδειας στερουμενης, ελυπει· του ποταμου δυναμενου ποτιζειν την χωραν, δια το υπερδεξιον

pute, and ſo came into the country for the firſt time. But they interfered in their uſual manner. A *general* was ſent from Rome, to ſettle the differences *at the head of an army*. "Without any provocation," ſays Dio,-"he who was ſent to adjuſt the diſputes between "the *Salaſſi Galatæ* and their neighbours, overran all "the country of the former[b].

Theſe were not ſubdued, however; and continued un-ſubdued for more than a hundred years afterward. *Then*, as Appian informs us agreeably to all that I have ſaid concerning them before, and in the reſtricted ſenſe which I have juſt noticed; "theſe men "poſſeſs the ſummits of the Alps. Their mountains "are [almoſt] inacceſſible, a pathway ſtrait and diffi-"cult leads up to them; from a confident reliance

εχειν το ρειθρον. Εκ δε ταυτης της αυλιας, πολεμοι συνεχεις ησαν αμφοτερους τους εθνεσι προς αλληλους. They ſtill find ſome grains of gold at Verrex, a little lower on the Doria; but find them in a brook that there runs into it, the Evanſon. A peaſant here is alſo ſaid to have lately found, on grubbing up a juniper-tree, a quantity of gold in grains to the amount of *two and twenty pounds in weight* (Sauſſure iv. 199); the collection of ſome opulent ſtream-worker, I ſuppoſe, who was afraid to keep by him what he had taken pains to collect, and ſo buried all for a ſhort ſeaſon in deſign, but for many ages in reality, the apprehenſion which produced the burial terminating in death. Strabo adds v. 334, that there had been a gold mine at Vercelli worked before his time, και εν Ουερκελλοις χρυσωρυχιον ην.

[b] Dio lxxix. 34. Κλαυδιος—Σαλασσους Γαλατας, μη εγκαλεσαντος τι, εξεπολεμωσε τοις Ρωμαιοις· επεμφθη γαρ ως συμβιβασων αυτους, τοις ομοχωροις περι του υδατος του εις τα χρυσεια αναγκαιου, διαφερομενους· και την τε χωραν αυτων πασαν κατεδραμεν.

"upon

" upon which, they lived independent of Rome, and " *exacted tolls from the paſſengers* [c]." This is nearly the conduct, which Cæſar has attributed before to their colleagues on the ſummit of theſe Alps, the Seduni; the merchants of his days travelling along the northern half of the road, " at a great riſk" of their property, " and with great impoſts laid upon " them [d]." But the Salaſſi actually went beyond the Seduni in their mountaineer's inſolence, and the riſk was changed into certainty; the merchants being frequently plundered by them [e]. Even in the civil war which commenced upon the death of Cæſar, when Decimus Brutus fled from Modena, and puſhed acroſs *theſe very Alps* to take refuge in Gaule; the Salaſſi would not ſuffer him to paſs, till he had paid them as many *denarii* as he had men with him [f]. They obliged another general of the Romans, Meſſala, who took up his winter-quarters near them, to pay for all the

[c] Appian's Illyr. 1203. " Maximè autem inter omnes Cæſari " [Auguſto] impedimentum attulêre *Salaſſi*, et Tapodes qui ultra " Alpes incolunt, Segeſtani, Dalmatæ, Daiſii, Pæoneſque, qui " *Salaſſis* ſponte adhæſerant. *Hi* vertices Alpium tenent; montes " [pœnè] inacceſſi; arcta ſemita ac difficilis ad eos ducit; quo- " rum fiduciâ, propriis degebant legibus, et vectigalia a tranſe- " untibus poſcebant."

[d] Bell. Gall. iii. 1. 85. " Magno cum periculo, magniſque " portoriis."

[e] Strabo iv. 314. Πολλα καὶ ἐβλαπτον τους δι' αὐλων ὑπερβαλλοντας τα ὀρη, καὶα το λῃστρικον ἐθος.

[f] Ibid. Οι γε και Δεκιμον Βρουτον φυγοντα εκ Μουτινης, ἐπραξαντο δραχμην καθ' ἀνδρας. I have ſaid *theſe very Alps*, becauſe there was no other road over the Alps till a few years afterward.

wood

wood that he uſed in firing, in ſpears, or in gymnaſtic inſtruments [g]. They even proceeded at laſt, to lay hold of ſome of Auguſtus's own property [h]. "Theſe," adds Appian, "Veterus attacked ſuddenly, ſeized the "paſſes [at the entrance] of their country by his in-"ſidious addreſs, and *for two years* kept them in a "kind of blockade. Obliged by the want of *ſalt*, "for which they were in very great diſtreſs," as our ungrateful countrymen in America frequently were, during their recent revolt from happineſs and Britain; "they at laſt admitted garriſons into their country [i]." But afterwards, as Strabo informs us, under pretence of being employed by the Romans, in new-making the roads and in bridging over the rivers; "they ſe-"cured the precipices of [entrance into] their coun-"try, with large parties of ſoldiery [k]." Then "making a general inſurrection againſt Veterus, they "diſmantled his fortreſſes, and, having ſecured the "paſſes of [entrance into] their hills, laughed at the "troops ſent by Auguſtus; when they ſaw them in-"capable, of effecting any thing important againſt

[g] Strabo iv. 315. Μεσσαλας δε πλησιον αυτων χειμαδευων, τιμην ξυλων κατεβαλε, των τε ναυσιμων, και των πτελεινων ακοντισματων, και των γυμναστικων.

[h] Ibid. ibid. Εσυλησαν δε ποτε και χρηματα Καισαρος ανδρες ουτοι.

[i] Appian 1203. "Hos Veterus inopinè aggreſſus, anguſta lo-"corum per inſidias occupat, et per biennium obſeſſos tenuit. "Illic ſalis inopiâ adducti, quo maximè indigebant; tandem ad-"miſêre cuſtodias."

[k] Strabo iv. 315. Επεβαλον κρημνους στρατοπεδοις, προφασιν ως οδοποιουντες, η γεφυρουντες ποταμους.

"them.

" them. Upon that account, Auguſtus *formally per-*
" *mitted them to live independent of Rome*, while his
" quarrel with Antony was preſſing upon him; and
" *pardoned thoſe, who had inſulted Veterus.* From
" this conduct they ſuſpected his views, drew other
" ſtates into a confederacy with them, and invaded
" the dominions of Rome" in the country of the In-
ſubres. " But Meſſala Corvinus, being ſent by
" Auguſtus to attack them, reduced them by *famine*;
" and thus did the Salaſſi come, under the power of
" the Romans [l]."

Yet they who are expreſsly declared by Strabo before, to have been the lords of the *paſſes* over the Alps; and as expreſsly affirmed by Appian, to poſ-ſeſs the *ſummits* of the hills; are equally aſſerted by Dio, to " dwell *under* the Alps [m]." All the hiſtorians are right; only each ſpeaks merely a part of the truth. Let me for the firſt time give the whole. The Salaſſi did at once poſſeſs the ſummits of the

[l] Appian 1203. " Poſtremò a Vetero deficientes, munimenta
" dejecêre; et, anguſtiis locorum occupatis, qui a Cæſare ad ipſos
" mittebantur irriſêre, quum nihil magnum in eos conari poſſent.
" Eâ ex cauſâ Cæſar, inſtante contra Antonium bello, ſuis legibus
" degere conceſſit; et qui Vetero inſultâſſent, veniam indulſit.
" Hæc omnia ad ſuſpicionem vertentes ipſi, alias iterum *urbes*
" [the word ſhould have been, *civitates*] congregabant, et quæ
" Romanis parerent invadebant; donec Meſſala Corvinus, ut illos
" expugnaret a Cæſare præmiſſus, fame domuit; eoque modo
" Salaſſi in Romanorum ceſſêre poteſtatem."

[m] Dio liii 25. 719. Οικουσι δε εκεινοι μεν υπο τας Αλπεις.

Alps, and dwell under the ſides of them. This I have repeatedly noticed before, and ſhall now proceed finally to prove. "The country of the Salaſſi "is large," ſays Strabo, "lying in a deep valley" at the Italian foot of the Alps; "and the hills ſhut up "the country on two ſides," on the Italian and on the Alpine: "*ſome part of the nation reaches up, to the* "*very heights*" of the Alps "above[n]." The Salaſſi thus held thoſe paſſes into the "valley," which I have noticed already, and ſhall again notice hereafter; the paſſes alſo up the Alps, from their "valley;" and the grand paſs over Great St. Bernard[o]. But all their lower paſſes were now ſeized with their ſtream-works, by the ſtrong hand of the conquering Romans. The works were there managed, by the Roman farmers of the taxes. Theſe agreed to pay the inhabitants of the hills certain ſums of money, to prevent them from obſtructing or intercepting the waters of the river[p]. The farmers, however, were

[n] Strabo iv. 314. Η δε των Σαλασσων πολλη μεν εστιν, εν αυλωνι βαθει, των ορων αμφοιν κλειουσιν το χωριον· μερος δε τι αυτων αναβαινει και προς τας υπερκειμενας κορυφας.

[o] The paſs at Great St. Bernard is conſidered by the Swiſs at preſent, on the Vallaiſan ſide of the ſummit; and is equally therefore conſidered, we may be ſure, by the Savoyards on the Italian ſide; as "un poſte qui pouvoit etre regardé comme la clef du "pays" (Sauſſure iv. 234). It may well be ſo conſidered by both, as it is "une gorge ſerrée entre de hautes montagnes, d'abord un "petit lac" (Sauſſure iv. 225).

[p] Strabo iv. 314. Κραθησανιων δε Ρωμαιων, των μεν χρυσεργιων εξεπεσον, και της χωρας, οι Σαλασσοι· τα δ' ορη καθεχουσιν ακμην το υδωρ απωλλυν τοις δημοσιωναις, τοις εργολαβησασι τα χρυσεια.

very

very graſping. Protected by the power of a conqueſt, they could not act with fairneſs to the Salaſſi. They would ſoon conſider ſuch a payment, as an impoſition; and demand as a natural right, what they had before received as a continued purchaſe. They would withold their payments; the mountaineers would dam up their current, where they could; and threaten perhaps to divert it entirely. They could have diverted it, have turned it to the north inſtead of the ſouth, and made it run into the Rhone inſtead of the Po; as "the defile of St. Bernard," Sauſſure obſerves, "or, to ſpeak more preciſely, the convent "which is ſituated upon the moſt elevated part of "this defile, is the point of ſeparation between the "waters which fall into the Adriatick," by the Po, "and thoſe which throw themſelves into the Me-"diterranean," by the Rhone [q]. The Seduni on the *northern* part of the ſummit would readily have concurred with the Salaſſi on the *ſouthern*, to turn the golden ſands of this Alpine Pactolus into *their* country. Diſputes accordingly aroſe, like what had embroiled them with the Romans at firſt. Theſe were frequently embroiling them again [r]; the *generals* ſent among them, being always too buſy in ſeeking occaſions for

[q] Sauſſure iv. 267. "Le Col de St. Bernard, oú, pour mieux "dire, le Convent qui eſt ſitué dans le lieu le plus elevé de ce "Col, eſt le point de ſeparation entre les eaux qui tombent dans "l'Adriatique, et celles qui ſe jettent dans la Mediterranée." See alſo Bourrit iii. 278.

[r] Strabo iv. 314. Προς τυλης δ' ησαν αει διαφοραι, δια την πλεονεξιαν των δημοσιωνων.

war,

war, ready to pronounce them revolters upon any ſigns of diſaffection, and ſure to find both the ſigns and the occaſions in theſe differences[s].

In one of thoſe pronounced revolts, and in what is neceſſarily from its conſequences the laſt; Terentius Varro was ſent into their country by Auguſtus. He entered it by ſeveral ways at once; and thus prevented the Salaſſi from bringing a large army, or ſecuring a ſtrong paſs, againſt him in any one point[t]. They could face him only in parties; and were in danger of being attacked at their paſſes, in front, in flank, or in rear. He therefore beat them with great eaſe[u]. They ſubmitted. He advanced to Great St. Bernard, and preſented a new ſtatue on a new pillar to the god Peninus, to the Genius of the Place, to *Returned Fortune.* But he demanded a certain contribution from the people, and in appearance meant to inflict no other puniſhment upon the conquered[w]. Yet his ſoul was too truly Roman, for ſuch an act; and had been too much irritated in its Roman inſo-

[s] Strabo iv. 314. Ουτω δε συνεβαινε, τους ςρατηγιωντας αει των Ρωμαιων, και πεμπομενους επι τους τοπους, ευφορειν προφασεων, αφ' ων πολεμησουσι.

[t] Dio liii. 25. 719. Ο Αυγουςος — επι μεν τους Σαλασσους τερεντιον Ουαρρωνα επεμψε. και ος πολλαχῃ αμα, οπως μη συςραφεντες δυσχειρωτεροι γενωνται, εμβαλων, κ. τ. λ.

[u] Dio ibid. Ρᾳςα τε αυτους, αιε και κατ' ολιγους προσπιπτοντας σφισιν, ενικησε.

[w] Dio ibid. Και συμβηναι καταναγκασας, αργυριον τι ρητον, ως και μηδεν δεινον αλλο δρασων, ητησε.

lence

lence of ſenſibility, by the long and continued oppoſition of the Salaſſi, not to meditate a ſevere revenge. He diſpatched his ſoldiery into different parts of the country, as in order to levy the ſums demanded [x]. He thus executed one of the moſt deciſive plans of inhuman policy, that hiſtory records. He ſeized the perſons of all the males. He ordered them to Ivrea, a town ſecured by the Romans as a bridle upon the Salaſſi, and garriſoned with a body of Roman ſoldiers. There *he ſold them all, to be ſlaves for twenty years* [y]. He thus ſold no leſs, than THIRTY-SIX THOUSAND of them; of whom *eight thouſand* were capable of carrying arms [z]. So very numerous was this nation of mountaineers; and ſo very juſtly did Livy characterize them in the days of Hannibal, as "a people numerous for the inhabitants of moun-

x Dio liii. 719. Καὶ τῷδε παιλαχῃ, πρὸς τὴν εἰσπραξιν δηθεν αὐτῶν, χρημάτων διαπεμψας, κ. τ. λ.

y Dio liii. 719—720. Συνελαβέ τε τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ ἀπέδοτο, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδεὶς σφῶν εἴλως εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν ἐλευθερωθειη. Dio appears from Strabo below, to have meant *all* the males, though he ſpeaks only of the males *adult*.

z Strabo iv. 315. Παῦλας ἐλαφυροπωλησε, κομισθεῖσας εἰς Εποραιδιαν, Ρωμαιων ὑποικιαν ἣν συνῳκισαν μεν, φρουραν εἶναι βουλομενοι τοις Σαλασσοις·——τῶν μεν ἐν ἀλλων σωμαῖων τρεις μυριαδες ἐξηλασθησαν ἐπι τοις ἑξακισχιλιοις, τῶν δε μαχιμων ἀνδρων ὀκτακισχιλιοι. Mr. Archibald Bower in Ant. Un. Hiſt. xiii. 493 ſays; "Varro ſent *forty thouſand* "of their *youth* to Eporedia, now Ivrea, where they were con-"demned to ſlavery for the term of twenty years." But ſome one, I know not who, in xxi. 315 makes Varro "ſend 40,000 of "their *youths* to *the iſland of* Yvrea, to be ſlaves *there* for 20 "years."

"tains."

"tains [a]. So awfully too, in thoſe meaſures of Providence over our world, which are principally myſterious becauſe they are comprehenſive, and loſt to our views becauſe they embrace centuries in their circuit; did Varro un-conſciouſly puniſh the perfidy of the Salaſſi to Hannibal, and did the Romans exterminate the inſidious traitors of their grand enemy! Varro then, adds Dio, "took the fineſt part of their "land from them [b];" being the very "ground," according to Strabo, "on which Varro had encamped "himſelf [c]." He choſe out three thouſand of the Emperour's guards under him, and ſettled them on the ſpot [d]. Theſe formed a town there, which was, for ages the ornament of the country, under the full title of *Auguſta Prætorianorum*, under the briefer of *Auguſta Prætoria*, and under the ſtill briefer of *Auguſta* only; which ſtill remains the glory of the region, the ſeat of a biſhoprick, and the head of a dutchy, under the ſame appellation (now written as it was always pronounced) of *Aoſta* [e].

The

[a] Livy xxi. 34. "Frequentem cultoribus, ut inter montana, "populum."

[b] Dio liii. 720. Και αυλων η αριστη της γης των τε Δορυφορων τισιν εδοθη, και πολιν την Αυγυσταν Πραιτωριανων ονομασμενην ισχεν.

[c] Strabo iv. 315. Εν ω στρατοπεδευσε χωριω Ουαρρων.

[d] Strabo ibid. Τρισχιλιους δε Ρωμαιων πεμψας, ωκισε την πολιν Αυγυσταν ο Καισαρ.

[e] This city has ſeveral remains of the Auguſtan age, an amphitheater, a gate (now in the center of the city), a triumphal arch in honour of Auguſtus, a magnificent bridge of marble with one arch, and an aqueduct of only one arch, but worthy of the Roman

The poſition of Aoſta, then, appeared ſo agreeable to Varro on his reduction of theſe Alps; that he encamped upon the ground himſelf, that he took it from the Salaſſi as "the fineſt part of their country," and that he ſettled ſome veterans of the guards in a colony upon it. *This was the very ground, upon which Hannibal equally encamped now.* The "lower parts" of the Alps, notes Livy concerning the preſent point of Hannibal's hiſtory, "have *vallies*, and ſome *ſunny* "*hills*, and *rivers near woods*, and *places more worthy* "*of human habitation.* There THE CATTLE WERE "TURNED OUT TO GRASS[f]." All this points directly to Aoſta, and on Aoſta entirely reſts. A modern author accordingly ſpeaks of Aoſta, without once dreaming indeed of the ſimilarity, but in terms remarkably appoſite to thoſe of Livy and Dio and Strabo before. "It is when we approach the city," he tells us, "that the picture is heightened and be-"comes more intereſting; it is at the termination of "*four fair vallies*, fertile in *paſturage* ——; the *proud* "*mountains ſurround*, as with an amphitheater, *the fair* "*circus that is occupied by the city*, and that is watered "by *three rivers*: this town is placed *in the fineſt ſitu-*

Roman grandeur. See Bourrit iii. 260—261. The triumphal arch was erected undoubtedly, in honour of this reduction of the country; and is, particularly, coæval with the colony. *This* was called *Aoſta*, juſt as *Auguſta Rauracorum* is now *Augſt* or *Auſt* near Baſil, *Auguſta Vindelicorum* now *Auſbourg*, &c.

[f] Livy xxi. 37. "Inferiora valles, et apricos quoſdam colles, "habent; rivoſque propè ſilvas; et—humano cultu digniora "loca. Ibi jumenta in pabulum miſſa."

" *ation* g." So truly have " the lower parts" of *our* Alps, like Hannibal's, " vallies, and rivers near " woods, and places more worthy of human habita- " tion!" So truly is the " deep valley" of Strabo deſcribed by Dio, " as the fineſt part of the Salaſſian " country." Aoſta, let me add from the ſame modern, lies ſo much amid Livy's " ſunny hills," and in a ſituation ſo much warmer than the top of Great St. Bernard; that, when the thermometer has been down at the cypher on the latter, it has been no leſs than *ſixteen* degrees *above* it at the former h. Amidſt theſe ſunny hills then, by the union of theſe fine vales, at the meeting of theſe fair rivers, and cloſe to the very ſite of this beautiful city; did Hannibal find the requiſite paſtures, for recruiting and reſtoring his tired horſes. He relieved the laden horſes from their burdens. He releaſed the draught-horſes from their cars. He turned them and the horſes of his troopers, into the natural, the fruitful meadows, along the Doria and its two auxiliary currents.

This Doria riſes from the lake on Great St. Bernard, as a ſecond ſurpriſingly does from one upon

g Bourrit iii. 259. " Mais c'eſt quand on approche de la Cité, " que les tableaux s'aggrandiſſent et deviennent plus intereſſans; " c'eſt—là où aboutiſſent quatre belles vallées, fertiles en patu- " rages—: de ſuperbes montagnes environnent, comme autant " d'amphitheatres, le beau Cirque qu' occupe la Cité, qu' arroſent " trois rivieres: cette ville, ſituée dans le plus bel emplacement," &c.

h Bourrit iii. 274.

Mount

Mount Cenis, and a third ſtill more ſurpriſingly from one upon Little St. Bernard[i]. The firſt I call Doria ſtill, becauſe it is ſo called ſixteen hundred years ago; Ptolemy noticing the "head of the river *Doria*, "which is at the Pœnine Lake[k]." Yet it is called the *Butier* at preſent: and the auxiliary current, which deſcends by Cormayeur, and receives a current from Little St. Bernard below; but was thought unworthy of Ptolemy's notice, though it is noticed by the Tables of Peutinger, and though the ſtream from Little St. Bernard is equally noticed by Strabo; has now arrogated the name of Doria to itſelf[l]. It is matter of great ſurpriſe, how the common people, who enjoy in full and abſolute perfection the prerogative of giving local appellations,

Vulgus, quem penes eſt et jus et norma loquendi;

could ever have agreed in fixing the denominations of rivers, ſo as to aſcertain which of two uniting currents ſhould be the denominator of the other. They are both equal in ſize perhaps, and yet one muſt ſink its own name in the other's. In this kind of matrimony between the river deities, which ſhall retain, which ſhall loſe, its original appellation? Who ſhall preſcribe the law, and on what principle ſhall it be

[i] Map in Berwick's Memoirs, Orrery's Letters 42, Map in Sauſſure vol. iii. and Placide's Map.

[k] Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 70. Η κεφαλη τȣ Δωρια ποταμȣ, η κατα την Ποινιναν λιμνην.

[l] Strabo iv. 312, Peutinger's Second Table, Sauſſure's and Placide's Maps.

founded? Yet we ſee the law promulged by the legiſlature of the people, and preciſe in its import even where no diſcrimination appears to direct it. Such an agreement, upon ſuch a ſubject, and among ſuch legiſlators, is a phœnomenon curious and ſtriking to a conſidering mind. We never find any variation among the common people of one age, in the application of the covering name; but we not unfrequently meet with a change, in a courſe of ages. Thus the name of *Butier* has ſuperſeded that of *Doria*. This forms a kind of repeal for the original law, *the national convention* of one century, with all the petty gravity of the national aſſemblies of France, exerciſing its deſpotiſm over *names*, and, like them, imagining ſome ſecret charm to lie in the very change. Like them too, they have acted with a ſingular whimſicality of ſpirit; both being the loweſt of the people, both feeling themſelves in the chair of power, and both therefore wantoning in un-reſtrained capriciouſneſs of conduct. Thus amidſt a revolution marked by every exceſs of liberty, polluted by every extravagance of licentiouſneſs, and loaded with every enormity of wickedneſs; the national aſſembly has buſily employed itſelf for hours and for days, in forming a new nomenclature, even in forming a new almanack, for France; throwing all the *provinces* into *departments*, and ſuperſeding the names that have laſted for ages, by new names of their own creation; taking the *bonnet rouge* of their galley-ſlaves, and calling it the *cap of liberty*; taking a *three-coloured* ribbon for

for the ſymbol of their *one, indiviſible* ſtate, and compelling every perſon to wear it as *the national cockade*; framing a new ſort of a year, that is as *revolutionary* as their ſtate, and *begins* with the months with which all others *end*, has no longer thoſe of October, November, and December, January, February, and March, April, May, and June, July, Auguſt, and September, but *Vindemaire, Brumaire*, and *Frumaire, Nivos, Pluvios*, and *Ventos, Germinal, Floreal*, and *Priaireal, Meſſidor, Herbidor*, and *Fructidor*; even ſuperſeding that meaſure of time into *weeks*, which has ſubſiſted in all ages and nations from the very creation, and from the reſt of God on the ſeventh day in the very act of creation[m], lengthening it out into a period of ten days, and entitling it a *decade*. In attending to ſuch and all their proceedings, *every* man of feeling and reflection, I believe, has been alternately frozen with horror, at the bloody ferociouſneſs of this band of profligates, and convulſed with laughter, at the ſolemn frivolouſneſs of this parliament of conceited fools; *now* ſees all Bedlam broke looſe, and ſtorming at the heavens over their head, in the frantick violence of their meaſures; *then* beholds all St. Luke's aſſembled in convention together, and grin-

[m] This the Greek name for a week, Ἑβδομας, and the Latin derived from it, *Hebdomada*, plainly intimate of themſelves. But, in Euſebius's Preparatio Evangelica xiii. 12. p. 667—668 (Coloniæ, 1688), we have an old writer vouching the fact for all the world, even citing Homer, Heſiod, and Linus to prove it particularly for the Greeks.

ning with an idiot ſmile of ſelf-applauſe, over the changes which they are ringing upon the bells of the ſtate. With equal gravity, but with greater wiſdom, and with much greater innocence, have the *commune* of the vale of Aoſta ſtripped the Doria of its original appellation, and yet conferred it upon a ſubſidiary current.

— VII. —

I HAVE formerly ſhown the Tables of Peutinger, to interpolate a ſtage between Summum Penninum and Auguſta Prætoria, and to call it EUDRACINUM. The number of miles indeed which they attach to their new town, twenty-five, and twenty-eight more to Auguſta, when the whole diſtance was twenty-four only; ſhows we can place no dependence upon the meaſures. Yet the diſcovery of an intermediate town in the courſe of Hannibal's march to Aoſta, is an uſeful one. Let us therefore endeavour, to fix the town. The day that Hannibal ſet out from St. Bernard, he plainly meant to have reached ſome town before night. He had yet probably the afternoon of the day remaining, when he was firſt ſtopt by the chaſm. He was ſtill marching on, and ſtill reſolute for marching. He ſpent the reſt of the day, in attempting to do ſo; found all his efforts baffled by the ice, the ſnow, and the declivity; and was at

laſt obliged to encamp, not at the place intended by him, but at the head of the chaſm and in the midſt of the ſnow. All ſhows he meant to have reached Eudracinum, the firſt night; and to have been within three or four hours march off Eudracinum, when he was ſtopped. Eudracinum therefore appears to be ETROUBLE, now a *great* village upon the road, and the only *great* one upon it; lying exactly at the middle point betwixt Great St. Bernard and Aoſta, juſt where the road of St. Bernard croſſes from the right-hand bank of the Doria, which it had hitherto purſued, to take the left and follow it to Aoſta[n]. All this road, ſays Appian at the *beginning* of the *ſecond* century, "is even now one among the practiſed "roads, and denominated THE PASSAGE OF HANNI-"BAL[o]."

The Carthaginian had thus completed his march acroſs the Alps, and reached the Italian foot of them. Polybius therefore ſays, that "on the *third*

[n] Sauſſure iv. 218, coming *upwards* and from *Italy*, ſays, "à "*demi-lieue* de la cité, le *village* de *Signaye*—; à *une-lieue* de ce "*village*, on traverſe *celui Gignaud*—;" 220. "on deſcend enſuite "à *Etrouble, grand* village, à *deux lieues* de *Gignaud*." The other ſtages mentioned *upward* are "*village* de *St Oyen*," twenty minutes (or one mile) from Etrouble; "St. Remy, le dernier *vil*-"*lage*," fifty minutes (or two miles and a half) from St. Oyen; and the convent ſomething more than two leagues from St. Remy (220, 222, and 224).

[o] Appian De Bellis Annib. p. 546. Η και νυν εστι των οδων επιφανης, και καλειται Διοδος Αννιβα.

" day he paſſed from the precipices mentioned be-
" fore, and came to *the plains* [p]." Hannibal, he adds,
" had now finiſhed his courſe over the Alps, in FIF-
" TEEN days [q]." This author has already informed

[p] Polybius iii. 56. Αννιβας καθεδαινε, και τριταιος απο των προειρημενων κρημνων διανυσας, ηψαλο των επιπεδων. "Annibal then de-
" ſcended *laſt*," a word having no correſpondent word in the original, and ſtanding in direct oppoſition to the whole narrative;
" — and thus on the third day gained the plains" (i. 364). Mr. Hampton has not obſerved in the original, and has therefore not noticed in his tranſlation, that Hannibal paſſed through the ſtrait with the cavalry and baggage, on the *ſecond* day of the halt. When, in one day's toil, he had made the road capable of admitting the baggage and cavalry, ταυτα μεν ευθεως διαγαγων, inſtantly carrying them through it, και καταστρατοπεδευσας, and encamping, περι τας εκφευγοντας ηδη την χιονα τοπους, in a region that had yet eſcaped the ſnow, διαφηκε προς τας νομας, he diſmiſſed them to the paſtures. So plainly did Hannibal attend the firſt detachment, that paſſed through the ſtrait. Yet, when we ſee Mr. Hampton's words, we find Hannibal remaining ſtill at the rock. "Theſe," he ſays,
" *were* immediately conducted down," by whom? Polybius ſays, by Hannibal, but Mr. Hampton is mute; " and, having
" gained the plains, *were* ſent away to paſture in places, where
" no ſnow had fallen." Mr. Hampton even takes particular pains, to ſuppreſs all ideas of Hannibal's preſence with this detachment; by omitting all notice of his *encamping*, and by placing the *paſtures* inſtead of the *camp*, " in places where no ſnow had
" fallen." We *therefore* find afterwards, that " Annibal deſcend-
" ed *laſt*," without authority in the text, and againſt the authority of the narrative. The fact is, that Mr. Hampton was puzzled with the mention of Hannibal *for* his *army* at the ſtrait, *after* he was ſaid explicitly to have paſſed it; did not take this explicitneſs, as in common-ſenſe he ſhould have done, for his guide in explaining the other; but took the other for his guide, and made the explicitneſs bend to it. He thus choſe a farthing-candle for his luminary, in preference to the ſun.

[q] Polybius iii. 56. Ποιησαμενος την των Αλπεων υπερβολην, ημεραις πεντεκαιδεκα.

us, that Hannibal was *nine* in gaining the creſt of the Alps[r]; that he ſtaid *two* there[s]; and that he encamped at the end of *another*, upon the head of the chaſm. On the *third* day afterwards, he now ſays, Hannibal came to the plains. Theſe ſeveral days, nine, two, one, and three, make up the ſum total of fifteen. Livy alſo tells us, that Hannibal reached the ſummit of the Alps in *nine* days[t]; that he continued *two* upon it[u]; and that (including one employed in marching up to the chaſm, and in trying to march along the ſide of it) he was *four* about it[w]. He afterwards adds, with a dubiouſneſs in himſelf and a reference to authority, that are very ſurpriſing amid ſuch clearneſs; that, "according to ſome authors, he croſſed the "Alps in FIFTEEN days[x]. His aggregate number coincides exactly with Polybius's, and forms juſt his fifteen. We thus ſee more ſatisfactorily than we could before, the diſtribution of his *three* days at the chaſm. On the *firſt* of the three, he cut down his trees, heaped them upon the rock of the perpendicular wall at the hollow, and waited till a wind aroſe, ſet fire to them, beheld the rocks glowing with the intenſe heat, drew his lines of vinegar upon it,

[r] Polybius iii. 53. Εννεαλαιος δε διανυσας εις τας υπερβολας.

[s] Polybius iii. 53. Δυο ημερας εμεινε.

[t] Livy xxi. 35. "Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum eſt."

[u] Livy xxi. 35. "Biduum in jugo ſtativa habita."

[w] Livy xxi. 37. "Quatriduum circa rupem conſumptum."

[x] Livy xxi. 38. "Ut quidam auctores ſunt, quintodecimo die "Alpibus ſuperatis."

and

and broke down the ſoftened rock into a winding, a practicable deſcent. This would be ſufficient employ for that day. The *ſecond* morning he marched away with the baggage and cavalry, leaving the main body to open the nearly cloſing rocks above, theſe *Symplegades* of the Alps, for the paſſage of the elephants. They laboured to open them, all that day. The *third* they marched with the elephants through them, and came down in the evening to their commander at Aoſta. But all ſhows ſtill more, that Livy and Polybius conſider the preſent poſition of the Carthaginians, as at the foot of the Alps, and within the verge of Italy. Polybius even calls this expreſsly, Hannibal's "entrance" into Italy; and Livy alſo ſays, he had now "penetrated into Italy[y]." Aoſta was accordingly conſidered ſo by the very Romans themſelves. Pliny places Aoſta preciſely, "at the roots of the Alps[z]." Pliny adds in another place, that "it is at the limit of the Alps;" and that the length of Italy is to be meaſured by a line, drawn "from the Alpine limit at Aoſta, through "Rome and Capua to Rhegium[a]." But Solinus equally meaſures the length of Italy, "from Aoſta "through Rome and Capua to the town of Rhe-

[y] Polybius iii. 60. Μετα δε την εισοδον; Livy xxi. 38. "In Italiam digreſſo."

[z] Pliny iii. 17. "Coloniæ ab Alpium radicibus,—Salaſſorum "Auguſta Prætoria," &c.

[a] Pliny iii. 5. "Patet longitudine ab Alpino fine Prætoriæ "Auguſtæ, per Urbem Capuamque curſu meante, Rhegium."

"gium."

"gium." So clearly, ſo demonſtrably, is Hannibal now with all his army at Aoſta, four and twenty miles below Great St. Bernard, and within the very confines of Italy! Italy then ended at the foot of the hills immediately north of Aoſta, though it has now uſurped upon the hills for many miles upward.

In this ever-memorable march, Hannibal had loſt a number of men[d]. Some had fallen by the hands of the enemy; in the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion at Lyons; in the grand engagement at the entrance of the Alps, and in the formidable ambuſcade at Luttier afterwards. Some had been drowned in the ſtreams, which they had been obliged to croſs; the rivers in France, the Arve near Geneva, the currents of the Vallais, the Drance and the Doria of the Alps[f]. Many alſo had periſhed, at the precipices and the

[b] Solinus c. 2. "Italiæ longitudo — ab Auguſtâ Prætoriâ per "Urbem Capuamque porrigitur, uſque ad oppidum Rhegium."

[c] Sauſſure iv. 218—224 makes the diſtance to be, between twenty-four or twenty-five miles. The Roman milliary above ſtates the diſtance at twenty-*four*, and the Roman *Iter* at twenty-*five*.

[d] Polybius iii. 56. Πολλῆς μεν απολωλεκως των ϛρατιωτων.

[e] Polybius iii. 66. Υπο τε των πολεμιων.

[f] Polybius iii. 56. Και των ποταμων, εν τη καθολη πορειᾳ. The ſecond clauſe of this paſſage relates to the whole march from the Rhone to Aoſta, and refers to the *enemy* as well as the *rivers* of the whole. But the only *enemy* that he encountered till he came to the Alps, was the rebellious party at Lyons. Here, however, the Latin tranſlator has made ſtrange work, rendering the ſecond clauſe thus, "ipſius denique itineris longitudo et difficultas," and ſo interpolating inſtead of interpreting his author.

defiles

defiles of the mountains[g]; at the precipices of the entrance, and at the defile of the chaſm. Yet he had loſt a ſmaller number of his *men*, than of his dragoon-horſes, his beaſts of burden, and his cattle in the cars[h]. *Theſe*, as we have ſeen before, had ſuffered particularly at the entrance, at the ambuſcade, and on the deſcent. He had croſſed the Rhone, as I have formerly obſerved, with eight and thirty thouſand infantry, and with more than eight thouſand cavalry. But he had loſt no leſs than TWO THOUSAND of his horſe, and EIGHTEEN THOUSAND of his foot, in the march ſince[i]. So triumphant does Hannibal appear in the eye of hiſtory, *till* the philoſophy, which the Goſpel inſenſibly breathes into every mind, ſteps in to recount his loſſes! At ſuch a vaſt expence of the happineſs and the lives of mankind, does he, and does every warriour, appear to purchaſe all his triumphs! The number of men loſt is moſt aſtoniſhing, nearly the half of his whole army, and almoſt all periſhing in the Alps[k]. This gives the finiſhing touch

g Polybius iii. 56. Πολλȣς δ' υπο των κρημνων και των δυσχωριων κατα τας Αλπεις. "Many of his men had alſo periſhed, among the "precipices and the defiles of the Alps" (i. 364).

h Polybius iii. 56. Ου μονον ανδρας, ετι δε πλειȣς ιππȣς και υποζυγια; "a *far* greater number of the horſes and *beaſts of burthen*," the draught-cattle (i. 365).

i Polybius iii. 56 compared with the account before from iii. 60.

k Polybius iii. 60. Σχεδον πȣ την ημισειαν της δυναμεως,— εν ταις υπερβολαις διεφθειρεν. "This army was now reduced to *leſs than* "half—;

touch of terribleneſs, to the terrible repreſentations before of his courſe acroſs them. Even the remainder of his army was exceedingly ſhaken and harraſſed, by the aſcents and deſcents of the mountains, by the roughneſs of the roads in both, and by the toil of mind and body which they had undergone at the chaſm [l]. The ſparing manner too, with which their proviſions were obliged to be dealt out to them, had given an emaciated appearance to their forms [m]. It was not poſſible for Hannibal, to carry ample proviſions for ſo large an army through ſo long a march [n]. Even *the greateſt part* of what were carried, was loſt in the loſs of his cars and cattle [o]. The proviſions accordingly began to fail, and the men were obliged to be put upon a ſcanty allowance [p]. Numbers there-

" half —; the reſt had periſhed among the mountains" (i. 371). This is very inaccurate; σχεδον πȣ being " *almoſt* half." It even appears to be very inaccurate, from Mr. Hampton's own verſion in i. 371 and i. 365 compared together. So little does Mr. Hampton attend, to the preciſe words of the original! So little even does he reflect in one place, upon what he himſelf has ſaid in another!

[l] Polybius iii. 60. Ου γαρ μονον υπο των αναβασεων και καταβασεων, ετι δε τραχυτητων των κατα τα συπερβολας, δεινως τεταλαιπωρηκει το συμπαν αυτῳ στρατοπεδον. Polybius afterwards adds συνεχειαν των πονων, and Livy ſpeaks of " muniendo *feſſis* hominibus," xxi. 37.

[m] Polybius iii. 60. Αλλα και τῃ των επιτηδειων σπανει — κακως απηλλαττε.

[n] Polybius iii. 60. Ουτε γαρ διακομιζειν εις τοσαυτας μυριαδας, δια τοσȣτων τοπων, δαψιλη τα προς την τροφην, οιοι τ' ησαν.

[o] Polybius iii. 60. Α τε και παρεκομιζον, αμα τῃ των υποζυγιων καταφθορᾳ, και τȣτων τα πλειστα συναπωλοντο.

[p] Appian 546. Των δε τροφων αυτον εκλιπȣσων.

fore,

fore, ſinking under the feelings of hunger and the preſſures of toil united, neglected all attention to their perſons [q]. And the whole army at this moment, from the long continuance of their diſtreſſes, carried all the appearance in look and in dreſs, of a hoſt of barbarians, ſordid, ſqualid, and ſavage [r].

Hannibal

[q] Polybius iii. 60. Πολλοι δε και καθυφειτο ταυτας ολοσχερως, δια την ενδειαν και συνεχειαν των πονων.

[r] Polybius iii. 60. Οι γε μην σωθεντες, και ταις επιφανειαις και τη λοιπη διαθεσει, δια την συνεχειαν των προειρημενων πονων, οιον αποτεθηριωμενοι παντες ησαν. Livy xxi. 39. "Ex illuvie tabeque ſqualida "et propè efferata corpora."

"The preſent condition of his army was miſerable *almoſt beyond* "*expreſſion*," a language very different from Polybius's, who ſays only, and without a boyiſh unmeaningneſs of exaggeration, that *all* the army was in *a dreadful condition of miſery*, δεινως τελαλαιπωρηκει το συμπαν ταυτω στρατοπεδον. "For beſides the hardſhips which they "had ſuſtained from the *difficulties* of the way, both in aſcending "and deſcending the mountains," literally and properly, *not only from the aſcents and deſcents, but alſo from the roughneſs of the roads in the paſſes*, "the want of ſuch proviſions as were neceſſary, and the "*diſeaſes* alſo which their bodies *had contracted* from neglect and "naſtineſs," literally and briefly without any diſeaſes, *and the total neglect of attention to their bodies*, ſo much leſs verboſe and leſs deſcriptive is Polybius than Mr. Hampton! "had changed them "into *ſpectacles of horror*." Mr. Hampton thus ſets up for himſelf in the trade of writing hiſtory, and refuſes to act any longer as foreman in the ſhop of Polybius! For the words rendered "had "changed them into ſpectacles of horror," are only κακως απηλλακτο, and mean only *had made a ſad alteration among them*. So much does the tranſlator thruſt his head into the clouds, when he ſhould be walking upon earth! "While the greater part," *many*, πολλοι, "ſeemed voluntarily *to ſink beneath their ſufferings*, and even "*to reject all thoughts both of life and ſafety*." Here the foreman not merely ſets up for himſelf, but boldly ventures to kick his maſter out of the ſhop. The words in the original are only theſe, literally

Hannibal therefore halted with them all, at Aoſta. "After his entrance" into Italy, ſays Polybius, "he "encamped under the very ſide of the Alps[s]." There his firſt care was, to recover his harraſſed ſoldiery[t]. This he particularly attended to, exerting himſelf in raiſing their ſpirits, and in mending their appearance[u]. He even extended his concern, to the bodies of the horſes[w]. He gave them all, a long

literally tranſlated, *and*, the author aſſigning a reaſon for and enlarging upon the neglect of attention to their bodies, not paſſing off to another point, as in the *while* of Mr. Hampton, *many even neglected their perſons entirely, becauſe of the want of neceſſaries, and the continuation of toils*. But how different is *this* from *that!* Yet I can trace the derivation of *that* from *this*. The meaning of Polybius came to Mr. Hampton through a certain ſtrainer, was miſunderſtood in the new form which it had then taken, and ſo became what it now is. The Latin verſion was the cauſe of this aberration. It ſays, "multi et *ſalutem ſuam ultro* in hâc inopiâ et "continuis laboribus negligebant;" and Mr. Hampton *therefore* ſaid in his uſual *loquacity* of ſtyle, "the greater part ſeemed *volun-* "*tarily* to ſink beneath their ſufferings, and even to reject all "thoughts both of life and *ſafety*." Such has been the chemical proceſs, in the tranſmutation of Polybius's *gold* into the *prince's metal* of Mr. Hampton! Yet even the very Latin is miſ-interpreted by Mr. Hampton. "Salutem ſuam ultro negligebant," mean not "they ſeemed *voluntarily* to reject all *thoughts* both of *life* and "*ſafety*;" but merely *they wilfully neglected* their *health*. The words thus, and thus only, anſwer to καθυφειλο εαυλως. So plainly is *the prince's metal* now debaſed into mere *braſs!*

[s] Polybius iii. 60. Μετα δε την εισοδον, καλαστρατοπεδευσας υπ' αυλην την παρωρειαν των Αλπεων.

[t] Polybius iii. 60. Τας μεν αρχας, αναλαμβανε τας δυναμεις.

[u] Polybius iii. 60. Πολλην ην ποιουμενος προνοιαν Αννιβας της επιμελειας αυλων, ανεκαλειτο και τας ψυχας αμα και τα σωματα των ανδρων.

[w] Polybius iii. 60. Ομοιως δε τα [σωματα] των ιππων.

repoſe

repoſe of THREE days[x]. Nor did this form the whole of his attention to them. He certainly found a town of the Salaſſi here, the capital of the Salaſſi; as Aoſta was undoubtedly their capital afterwards[y], and as Varro would encamp at the capital on the reduction of the country. A town too appears to have been actually upon the ground, from one circumſtance in the preſent hiſtory. Repoſe might reſtore the wearied frames of Hannibal's men, but repoſe would not recruit their ſtarved ſpirits. The halt of three days, indeed, would only add to their diſtreſs concerning food. Their ſtores would be more exhauſted by the delay, and every day their allowance would become ſcantier. Yet we are expreſsly informed by Livy, that they now paſſed "out of want into PLENTY[z]." They therefore furniſhed themſelves with a new ſtock of proviſions, at Aoſta. They thus recovered their ſpirits entirely, regained their former vivacity of hope, and reſumed their former vigour of reſolution[a].

VIII. HAVING

[x] Livy xxi. 37. "Ibi — quies — data triduo."

[y] Pliny iii. 17. "Salaſſorum Auguſta Prætoria."

[z] Livy xxi. 39. "Copia ex inopiâ."

[a] Polybius iii. 60. Μίλα δὲ ταύτα, προσανειληφυίας ἤδη τῆς δυνάμεως.

"The Carthaginian general, having now entered Italy, with "the forces which we have already particularly mentioned, *at* "*firſt* encamped at the bottom of the Alps, that he might give "*ſome* eaſe and refreſhment to his troops." Mr. Hampton has thus, by the mere exertion of wantonneſs, transferred the words τὰς ἀρχὰς, "at firſt," from the *refreſhment* for which they were deſigned, to the *encamping* with which they have no concern. Literally rendered, the paſſage runs thus; *after his entrance into Italy encamping*

—VIII.—

HAVING done this, Hannibal entered upon action again, by marching away with an army, which now conſiſted of SIX THOUSAND HORSE and TWENTY THOUSAND

encamping under the very ſide of the Alps, he *in the firſt place* refreſhed his forces. But, as Mr. Hampton goes on, "thoſe that were left "alive, were ſo much worn and altered by continued ſufferings, "that their appearance was *ſcarcely human*." How much fainter is this picture, in its attitudes and in its colours, than the one almoſt immediately preceding in Mr. Hampton's own tranſlation! What were *then* "ſpectacles of horror," *now* wear only an "appearance ſcarcely human." But, as thoſe ſpectacles were only perſons ſadly altered, ſo theſe "ſcarcely human" forms are even forms "like ſavages," οιον απολελθηριωμενοι. The tide of language thus recedes as low, as it has mounted high before. But in Polybius the language knows no ebb, and goes on, as all language ought to go, in one progreſſive flood; thoſe who were ſadly altered before, being now exhibited as ſavages. In Mr. Hampton alſo, the men are "ſo much worn and altered by continued *ſuf*-"*ferings*;" but in Polybius they are affected more ſpecifically and more hiſtorically, by continued *toils*, των πονων. Thus, as Polybius has told us before, many neglected their perſons entirely, becauſe of the want of neceſſaries and the continuance of *toils*, των πονων. "The *firſt* care therefore, to which Annibal now gave his *whole* "attention, was to *raiſe the drooping ſpirits* of the troops, and by "proper refreſhment to reſtore both the men and horſes to their "former ſtate." Literally: "Hannibal therefore," not making it his "firſt" care, which is ſtrangely recalling what he has ordered away before, and not giving his "whole" attention to it, which is adding falſhood to fineſſe, but "thinking much how he could "take care of them; refreſhed together both the minds and "the bodies of the men, and ſimilarly thoſe of the horſes." Po-

THOUSAND FOOT; eight thouſand of the latter being Spaniards, and twelve thouſand Africans[a]. It muſt be agreeable to every reader of reflection to ſee the exact number with which he entered upon his important war in Italy; now he was come after a march of five months from Carthagena in Spain[b], to the immediate ſcene of action; and now he was commencing his grand career of operations, in that country. *He himſelf* thought the circumſtance ſo remarkable, in the hiſtory of his Italian war; as to have it engraven afterwards on a plate of braſs, and affixed to a pillar in the temple of Juno at Lacinium. In this, with the ſpirit that we have ſeen in him twice before, of a devout acknowledgment of the Power above him, and with the genius of a literary warriour, that recorded his own actions, and ſo anticipated his own fame; he erected an altar to the goddeſs peculiarly worſhipped at Carthage, and inſcribed a very long account of his exploits upon a pillar by it, in *Carthaginian* characters for the reading of his ſoldiery, in *Greek* for the inſpection of all the neighbouring

lybius thus appears, always walking in a direct path, ſteadily and firmly moving on, and turning neither to the right nor to the left. But Mr. Hampton appears, moving generally in a looſe and ſhambling kind of pace, frequently ſtumbling, and ſometimes diverging from the road entirely.

[a] Polybius iii. 60. Εχων το διασωζομενον μερος της μεν Λιβυων δυναμεως, πεζους μυριους και δισχιλιους, της δε των Ιβηρων εις οκτακισχιλιους· ιππεις δε της παντας, ὁ πλειους των εξακισχιλιων.

[b] Polybius iii. 56.

nations.

nations[c]. He now "marched away" with them, we hear from Livy, "to the plane country, to places "under a milder element, and to inhabitants of a "milder ſpirit[d]." He now came therefore to a new nation, having quitted the dominions of the Salaſſi with whom he has been ſo long engaged, and entering the territories of another tribe to the ſouth. He marched, as Livy afterwards tells us, "into the coun-"try of the TAURINI, who, on his having pene-"trated into Italy, were the nation *occurring next to* "*him after the Gauls*," Dio's Salaſſi Galatæ, of the Alps[e]. He marched along the left or eaſtern bank of the Doria, to the plane country of the Po, the fine meadows upon its ſides, and the civilized region of TURIN. But he firſt adhered to the road, which he had kept ſo long. This goes in the Itinerary thus: "Auguſtam Prætoriam ....., VITRICIUM "m. p. xxv [Tables, xxi], EPORAEDIAM m. p. xxi "[Tables, xxxiii], Vercellas .....[f]." Hannibal therefore marched by VERREX to IVREA.

[c] Polybius iii. 56. Αυτος εν τη ςηλη, τη περι τȣ πληθȣς εχȣση την επιγραφην, επι Λακινιῳ διασαφει. See alſo iii. 33. Χαλκωματι. Livy xxviii. 46. "Propter Junonis Laciniæ templum, æſtatem Han-"nibal egit; ibique aram condidit dedicavitque, cum ingenti "rerum abs ſe geſtarum titulo, Punicis Græciſque literis in-"ſculpto." The Lacinian Promontory is now called Capo della Colonne, and from this very pillar probably. See alſo Ant. Un. Hiſt. xvii. 270—273.

[d] Livy xxi. 37. "Inde ad planum deſcenſum, etiam locis "mollioribus, et [mollioribus] accolarum ingeniis."

[e] Livy xxi. 38. "In Taurinos, quæ Gallis proxima gens erat "in Italiam digreſſo."

[f] Bertius p. 22 and ſecond ſegment.

"In ſome minutes from the city of Aoſta," ſays a traveller, who has gone over all this route with very particular attention, "the great road of Italy which "we have been following, paſſes under a triumphal "arch erected in honour of Auguſtus—. The valley "at the city is large and level.—Half a league from "the city, we remarked to the ſouth on the other "ſide of the Doria, an high mountain, of which the "top was COVERED WITH SNOW, and from which "deſcends A LITTLE GLACIERE, THE LAST THAT IS "SEEN ON THIS ROUTE IN GOING FOR ITALY." So much reaſon has Livy, for what muſt rather have ſurprized my readers at firſt, for placing the region of Turin "under a milder element," than the vale of Aoſta! "In one league and a half from "the city, we paſs through *Ville Franche*, a village "ſomewhat conſiderable; and, one league farther, "that of *Nuz*, a pretty conſiderable town. A little "beyond Nuz, the valley ceaſes to be large and level; "it becomes narrow and much varied, here barren "and wild, there compoſed of orchards and meadows "watered by the Doria. The *ſtrata* of *the mountains* "*on our left*, which from the city had conſtantly run" in one direction, "appeared to change it a quarter of "a league from *Chambave*, which is a league and a "quarter from Nuz. The petty village of *Chatillon* "is a league from Chambave; we paſſed through the "length of it by one ſtreet, very ſteep, but large, "well-paved, divided by a channel of water clear "and running, ornamented with ſeveral fountains.

"Before

" Before we reached the village, we paſſed by a fine " ſtone-bridge of one arch, over the ſpace between " two rocks, ſeparated to an aſtoniſhing depth by a " torrent, which deſcends from a high mountain " called Mount Cervin. Lower we ſee the ruins of " another bridge, which is ſaid to have been built by " the Romans. The village of *St. Vincent* is half a " league from Chatillon: in coming out of St. Vin- " cent we enter upon a charming road, that traverſes " fine woods of cheſnut trees, and the ground is a " tapeſtry of the fineſt verdure. Half a league from " St. Vincent, we begin to deſcend along the road " which bears the name of *Mount Jovet*, a village " ſituated at the foot of the mountain, upon the banks " of the Doria. This road, cut by the hand of man " in the living rock to a conſiderable height above " the river, is an admirable work. We then traverſe " a ſmall plain of an oval form, find the rocks begin " again beyond it, and in twenty minutes reach the " little town of VERREX[g]." Here therefore I fix the

g Sauſſure iv. 175. " A quelques minutes de la ville d'Aoſte, " le grand chemin de l'Italie que nous ſuivons, paſſe ſous un arc " de triomphe erigé en l'honneur d'Auguſte." P. 176. " La val- " lée eſt ici large, à fond plat —. A demi-lieue de la cité, nous " remarquâmes au midi, de l'autre côté de la Doire, une haute " montagne, dont la cime eſt couverte de neige, et de laquelle de- " ſcend un petit glacier, le dernier que l'on voie ſur cette route " en allant en Italie." P. 177. " A une lieue et demie de la cité, " on traverſe *Ville-franche*, village peu conſiderable, et, à une lieue " plus loine, celui de *Nuz*,— un bourg aſſez conſiderable." P. 179. " Un peu au-delá de Nuz, la valleé ceſſe d'etre large et plane —; " elle devient etroite et tres-variée, lá ſterile et ſauvage, ici cou-

the head-quarters of Hannibal the firſt night, at xxi miles from Aoſta according to the Tables, at xxv according to the Itinerary, but at xv or xvi only in reality. Nor would even this diſtance be a ſlight day's march. Nothing indeed but the levelneſs of the country, the eagerneſs of the commander, and the want probably of any town ſhort of Verrex, could have impelled the Carthaginians to make ſo long a march.

" Verrex," adds the ſame traveller, " is a pretty

" verte de vergers et de prairies arroſées par la Doire. Les " couches des montagnes á notre gauche, qui depuis la cité avoi- " ent conſtamment couru,—paroiſſent changer á un quart de lieue " du village de *Chambave*, qui eſt à une lieue et un quart de Nuz." P. 180. " La petite ville de *Chatillon* eſt à une lieue de Cham- " bave; nous la traverſâmes, ſuivant ſa longueur par une rue trés- " rapide, mais large, bien pavée, diviſée par un canal d'eau claire " et courant, et ornée de pluſieurs fontaines.—Avant d' y arriver, " on traverſe, ſur un beau pont de pierre d'une ſeule arche, l'in- " tervalle de deux rochers ſeparés à une profondeur étonnante, par " un torrent qui deſcende d'une haute montagne nommée Mont " Cervin. On voit, plus bas, les ruines d'une autre pont, qu'on " dit etre des Romains. Le village de *St. Vincent*, à une demi- " lieue de Chatillon," &c. P. 181. " En ſortant de St. Vincent, " on entre dans une route charmante, qui traverſe de beaux bois " de chataigners, dont le fond eſt un tapis de la plus belle ver- " dure." P. 182. " A demi-lieue de St. Vincent, on commence " à deſcendre le chemin qui porte le nom de *Mont Jovet*, village " ſitué au pied de la montagne, ſur le borde de la Doire. Ce che- " min, taillé de main d'homme dans le roc vif, à une hauteur " conſiderable au-deſſus de la riviere, eſt un ouvrage admirable." P. 190. " On traverſe enſuite une petite plaine de forme ovale. " —Les rocs re-commencent—; et on vient en vingt minutes a " la petite ville de *Verrex*" (p. 197).

" conſiderable

" conſiderable village, at which we ſtopt both going " and returning. From Verrex we go in an hour " and a half, to the FORT OF BARD. The village is " on this ſide of the fort, ſituated in a defile very nar- " row, ſhut in between two ſteep mountains. On the " ſummit of that which is on the right or ſouth, is " the fort; and the Doria flows at the foot of the " mountain. The rocks continue all along the great " road, above which they are cut down perpendicu- " larly by the hand of man, to the height of more " than thirty feet. This is ſaid to be a work of the " Romans," as it apparently is; " and in proof it is " they ſhow a milliary column, ſculptured in relief " upon the rock itſelf. This column is eight feet " and a half in height, and two in breadth, having " the numerals xxx upon it. Beyond this column, " we paſs through a gate cut entirely in the rock[h]."

[h] Sauſſure iv. 199. " Verrex eſt une aſſez grand village, dans " lequel nous nous arretâmes en allant et en revenant. — De " Verrex, on va dans une heure et demie au *fort de Bard.*" P. 200 —201. " Le village—eſt en deca du fort——. Le village eſt " ſitué dans un defilé trés-etroit, ſerré entre deux montagnes eſ- " carpées; ſur le ſommet de celle, qui eſt à droite où au ſud, eſt " ſitué le fort de Bard; et la Doire coule au pied de la montagne. " Les — rochers continuent le long de la grande route, au-deſſus " de laquelle ils ſont taillés à pic de main d'homme, à une hauteur " de plus de 30 pieds. Ont dit que c'eſt un ouvrage des Romains, " et on en donne pour preuve une colonne milliaire, ſculptée en " relief dans le roc même. Cette colonne à 8 pieds et demi de " hauteur, ſur deux de diametre, avec le chiffre xxx. Au-delà " de cette colonne, on paſſe par une porte taillée en entier dans le " roc."

But I muſt ſtop my reader a little longer at *Bard.* "This valley of Aoſta," ſays M. Bourrit, "is de-"fended by ſome towns and fortreſſes, as that of "Verrez, which is almoſt ſafe from a ſiege, and that "of *Bard*, which is eſteemed ſtill ſtronger. We "find alſo a famous road, which *the Romans cut* to "open for themſelves a paſſage into the vale of Aoſta. "Its ancient inhabitants, the Salaſſi, *defended the en-*"*trance into it a long time*;" an article of hiſtorical intelligence, that is not referred to any authority by the writer, yet is not apocryphal, but may be found in the canon of hiſtory, when Veterus blocked them up for two years. "The road is almoſt twelve "feet broad: upon one ſide, the deep bed of the "Doria alarms the traveller, who is yet protected "by a wall of rock-ſtones, which thoſe able con-"ſtructors knew how to manage. The other ſide "of the road is not leſs remarkable; there the rocks "are cut down perpendicularly, an immenſe work! "which is the more aſtoniſhing, becauſe in thoſe "times they had no aſſiſtance from gunpowder and "mines[1]."

So

[1] Bourrit iii. 262—263. "Cette vallée eſt defendue par des vil-"les et des forteresſes, telles que celle de Verrez, qui eſt preſqu' à "l'abri d'un ſiege, et celle de Bard, eſtimée plus forte encore. On "trouve auſſi un fameux chemin, que les Romains taillerent, "pour s'ouvrir le paſſage de la val-d'Aoſte. Les anciens habitans, "les Salaſſes, en defendirent long-temps l'entrée: ce chemin a "pres de douze pieds de large: d'un coté, le lit profond de la "Doire effraie le voyageur, qui eſt cependant à l'abri par un mur "de rochers, que ces habiles conſtructeurs ont ſu menager. L'au-"tre

So plainly have the Romans been buſy at work, upon this paſs! Here for that reaſon was an antient inſcription ſet up, *commemorative of Hannibal's march along it.* "Paul Jovius and Merula, two very learned men of the ſixteenth century," remarks an author, "affirm that they had ſeen at a paſs called *Le Bard* between Aoſta and Ivrée, an antient inſcription which had been put up there, as a memorial of Hannibal's paſſing that way[k]." Paul Jovius was an Italian biſhop, who died about the middle of the ſixteenth century, and Paul Merula a Hollander, who died in the beginning of the ſeventeenth. The evidence, therefore, is double in nature and ſucceſſive in time. What then can be oppoſed to it? Yet, in the active energy of critical minds at preſent, we are apt to carry our cautiouſneſs into an argument, to puſh our very doubts into determinations, and to believe readily upon one ſide from a ſpirit of unbelief on the other. "As they took no copy of it themſelves," obſerves the relating author; "and we do not hear of any other perſon or author, that ever ſo much as ſaw it; there is a great deal of reaſon, to believe this a little apocryphal[l]." The evidence of a biſhop and an Italian, of a biſhop of Nocera at no great diſtance, and a native of Como in the very

"tre coté du chemin n'eſt pas moins remarquable; ce ſont des "rochers taillés perpendiculairement, ouvrage immenſe! qui "étonne d'autant plus, que dans ces temps-là l'on n'avoit pas le "ſecours de la poudre et des mines."

[k] Breval's Firſt Travels i. 227. [l] Breval i. 227.

neighbourhood,

neighbourhood, a ſcholar, and an hiſtorian, would be ſufficient of itſelf. Such an evidence as this is competent, to ſupport a much more important fact than that. But when a ſecond witneſs is brought in to add his evidence to it, can any man of ſober mind for a moment doubt the competency of both? Yet becauſe we have not *three* witneſſes for the inſcription, or becauſe the *two* did not copy it; the credulity of ſcepticiſm will believe it to be apocryphal. That credulity, which will not be diverted by leſs than *three* witneſſes, might with equal reaſon call for *thirteen* or *thirty* to turn it. That ſcepticiſm, which will not be convinced by any thing ſhort of a *copy* of the inſcription, would not be convinced by that; but would doubt about the genuineneſs of the tranſcript, as much as it does now about the exiſtence of the original. The human mind has always a proper proportion of ſcepticiſm and credulity, in it; but *this* as a *power*, and *that* as a *check* only; a power neceſſary to prevent life from ſtanding ſtill, in the heſitation and vacancy of doubts; and a check equally neceſſary to ſave the mind, from being precipitated into haſty evils and unforeſeen diſtreſſes. Yet ſcepticiſm ſets itſelf forth in the preſent ſpirit of the times, as the life, the vigour of the mind; when that vigour and that life are principally exerted in believing, when for one point doubted twenty muſt be believed, and when otherwiſe man muſt ſtand and ſtarve and die, like the aſs between two equally attractive bundles of hay. To riſe to ſuch a pitch of exactneſs,

as

as to preſent the very copy of an inſcription to the reader; was not common in the ſixteenth century, and is not neceſſary in any. The want of it therefore is not to be urged, in ſuperſedence of poſitive teſtimony. Nor can we, without high impertinence, reject the poſitive teſtimony of *one* of theſe witneſſes, for ſuch a petty incident as the exiſtence of a few words upon a rock. One indeed is as much, as we can reaſonably expect upon ſuch a ſubject. And one is in fact all that the objecting author ought, either in juſtice to the truth or in fairneſs to his own reaſoning, to have cited as a witneſs; Merula giving no evidence himſelf, and only repeating the evidence of another. "Jovius writes," he ſays, "that *letters are "ſhown engraved upon the rocks* at BARR, a MONU-"MENT OF HANNIBAL, who croſſed the Alps "here[m]." But let us not look at the ſun, by its reflection in the water. Let us, eagle-like, face its rays directly; and thus behold it in its real luſtre. Jovius is much more luminous and bright, than his reflector. "Immediately after theſe," he ſays in his deſcription of the Alps as they are croſſed *from* Italy, "follow the Alps of St. Bernard,—which lead from "Ivrea through Auguſta Prætoria—: THESE ROCKS "ARE THOUGHT BY MANY, to have been [thoſe "which were] BROKEN UP BY HANNIBAL WITH "FIRES AND VINEGAR; as at BARR, a village on

[m] Merula's Coſmographia lib. iv. p. 526. Amſtel. 1621. "Scribit—Jovius apud Barrum litteras cotibus inſculptas oſtendi, "monimentum Hannibalis, qui hac Alpes trajecerit."

"this road, in a perpetual monument to the glory "of ſo great a commander, LETTERS INSCRIBED "UPON THE VERY ROCKS SIGNIFY[n]." We have already ſeen this road over Great St. Bernard, reported by Livy, reported by Pliny, and reported by Marcellinus, in ſucceſſion, to be the traditionary road of Hannibal among their cotemporaries; and actually denominated by the Romans at the beginning of the ſecond century, *the paſſage of Hannibal.* The Romans, who ſo believed and ſo denominated it, might very naturally put up an inſcription expreſſive of the tradition. The ſoldiers, who were working in the formation of *this* road, and actually engraved a milliary column upon *theſe* rocks, at Bard; would be very apt to do ſo, as we know their fellow-ſoldiers to have engraved inſcriptions concerning themſelves, at ſome of our quarries in Britain[o]. The inſcription at Bard is ſince gone, as ſome of our Britiſh are[p], and as that upon the milliary column equally is; the numerals xxx being alone left upon the column, yet ſerving to ſhow there were words with them formerly[q]. But it was luckily ſeen in its preſerved ſtate

[n] P. Jovii tom. i. p. 300. "Ad has ſtatim ſequuntur Sancti "Bernardi Alpes,— quæ ab Eporediâ per Auguſtam Prætoriam "— perducunt —. Has rupes ignibus acetoque Annibalem per- "fregiſſe, multi opinantur; ut apud Barrum, ejuſi tineris pagum, "perpetuo tanti ducis gloriæ monumento, literæ ipſis cotibus "inſcriptæ ſignificant." See the words alſo in Simler 242.

[o] Horſley 267 and 299, &c.

[p] Horſley, 269 &c.

[q] So in Horſley, Weſtmoreland iv.

by

by Jovius, and happily noticed in a publication by him. His atteſtation proves its exiſtence deciſively. Yet, what forms an amazing ſuperfluity of evidence upon ſuch a point; and even gratifies the vicious appetite of incredulity to the full, in its craving hunger for more evidence; we find an hiſtorian of the middle ages, antecedent to Jovius by many centuries, a biſhop of Italy, like Jovius, a native of a town almoſt as near as Como, and a biſhop of a city ſtill nearer than Nocera; ſtrongly, though ſilently, referring to this very inſcription and that very tradition, in ſaying that "Arnulph the emperour returned home "out of Italy, by HANNIBAL'S WAY, which THEY "CALL BARD AND MONT JOUX[r]."

From Bard, adds Sauſſure, "with rocks continually at our ſide, we come to the long and narrow "village of *Donax*. From Donax we come to *St.* "*Martin*, upon a road continually paved and glittering. St. Martin, ſituated equally between two "ſteep rocks, is *the laſt village* of *the vale of Aoſta*; "we go out of it *to enter Piedmont*, by a tolerably

[r] "Liutprandus Ticinenſis," who was biſhop of Cremona in the 10th century (Mod. Un. Hiſt. xxviii. 31), "ſcribit Arnul-"phum Imperatorem ex Italiâ domum reverſum eſſe" in 896 (Mod. Un. Hiſt. xxv. 263—264), "per Annibalis viam, quam "Bardum vocant et Montem Jovis" (Simler 248). "Per Pen-"ninas has exiſtimat Luitprandus Ticinenſis Hannibalem in Ita-"liam veniſſe, ſcribens Arnulphum Imperatorem ex Italiâ do-"mum reverſum per Hannibalis viam, quam Bardum dicunt et "Montem Jovis" (Merula iv. 525).

" handſome gate of cut ſtone, on which are the arms " of the houſe of Savoy. Half a league from St. " Martin, *we diſcover* for the *firſt* time the *plains* of " Italy; we paſs however *ſome very narrow defiles* " ſtill, and, among others, one at the village of " *Monte Stretto*, the name of which indicates ſuffi- " ciently the ſituation. Having paſſed Monte Stretto, " we *quit the mountains entirely*; we *ſee nothing any* " *longer around us but ſome ſmall hills*, and even theſe " *at ſome diſtance.*" So properly does Livy intimate this whole march from Aoſta, though Aoſta itſelf is at the foot of the Alps, to be ſtill " a deſcent" from the mountains[s]! " In half an hour we come from " Monte Stretto to *Borgo Franco*, and from Borgo " Franco travel to IVREA almoſt *conſtantly upon plane* " *ground.*" So accurately does Livy again ſpeak of this march, as one expreſsly " into the plane coun- " try[t]!" " Before we arrive at Ivrea, we croſs a " ſmall hill, on the other ſide of which is this *town* " ſituated; at the bottom of this hill, we enter IVREA " through a gate, and ſleep there. Ivrea *is encircled* " *by plains*[u]." So exactly does the region continue to

[s] Livy xxi. 37. " Inde — deſcenſum."

[t] Ibid. ibid. " Ad planum."

[u] Sauſſure iv. 201—202. " On vient au long et etroit village " de *Donax*.—De Donax on vient à *St. Martin*, ſur un chemin " toujours pavé et gliſſant—. St. Martin, ſitué auſſi dans un " etroit defilé entre deux rochers eſcarpés, eſt le dernier village " de la vallée d'Aoſte; on en ſort pour entrer en Piemont, par une " aſſez belle porte en pierre de taille, ſur laquelle ſont gravées les " armes de la Maiſon de Savoye. A demi-lieue de St. Martin, " on

to be "the plane country" of Livy! But theſe ſucceſſive defiles in the mountains, muſt have been mentioned previouſly to Hannibal by his Gallick guides; and have made him very apprehenſive, of being ſtopt at them. In the hands of a reſolute enemy, in the hands even of one that had only the reſolution to *try* the ſpirit of the Carthaginians, theſe would have been formidable barriers to his and their advance. But they all belonged to the Salaſſi, who *had* tried the Carthaginians and him, and were *now* afraid to face them with *every* advantage on their ſide. All the wiſdom of the Salaſſi had been conſumed, in the ſmothered fire of their cunning; and all the bravery of the Salaſſi had evaporated, in the burſting flame of their perfidy. From the ſilence of Livy and Polybius, Hannibal appears to have not encountered the ſlighteſt oppoſition, at any one of theſe ſtrong paſſes. Nor let us doubt, whether the Salaſſi extended their poſſeſſions ſo far to the ſouth,

"on découvre pour la premiere fois les plaines de l'Italie; on "paſſe cependant encore quelques defilés tres-etroits, et, entr' "autres, au village de *Monte-Stretto*, dont le nom indique aſſez la "ſituation." P. 202. "Paſſé Monte-Stretto, on ſort tout-à-fait "des montagnes; on ne voit plus autour de ſoi que des collines, "et même à un certain eloignement. Nous mîmes [vinmes] "demi-heure de Monte Stretto, à *Borgo-Franco*." P. 203. "De "Borgo-Franco à *Yvrée* on marche preſque toujours en plaine." P. 204. "Avant d'arriver à Yvrée, on traverſe une colline, de "l'autre coté de laquelle cette ville eſt ſituée.—Au bas de la col-"line, en entrant à Yvrée et ſous la porte même de la ville," &c. "Nous couchâmes à Yvrée." P. 212. "Dans les plaines qui en-"tourent Yvrée" &c.

as Ivrea. We have ſeen their poſſeſſions reaching before, to Orzieres on the northern ſide of the Alps, and to Aoſta at the foot of the ſouthern. Aoſta we know to have been their *capital*; and all the vale of Aoſta, therefore, muſt have belonged to it and them. This brings us down to St. Martin, the laſt village in the vale. But their dominions did not terminate here, as we naturally expect they ſhould have done. They appear from Pliny, to have actually infolded *Ivrea* within their range. "*Belonging to the Salaſſi*," he tells us, "is Auguſta Prætoria,—*the town Epo-*"*redia*," &c[w]. So very extenſive were the territories, of this nation of traitors to Hannibal! At this town then, twenty one miles from Verrex in the Itinerary, thirty three in the Tables, and about twelve or thirteen (I believe) in reality, do I fix the head-quarters of Hannibal for the ſecond night. Nor can we doubt the exiſtence of a town here, in that early age; though Pliny ſays "the books of the Sibylls "commanded the Romans to build it[x]." Upon ſuch occaſional, contingent, and petty points, amid many ſubſtantial and important ſubjects, did the books of the Sibylls touch at times; and ſo much more myſterious than ever in their nature, do thoſe points render theſe books! Pliny can mean only a command to *re*-build it, as *he himſelf intimates the name to be*

[w] Pliny iii. 17. "Salaſſorum Auguſta Prætoria,—Oppidum "Eporedia."

[x] Ibid. ibid. "Sibyllinis Libris a populo Romano condi juſ-"ſum."

purely

purely Gallick. "The Gauls," he ſubjoins, "denominate good horſe-breakers *Eporedicæ*[y]." The town therefore derives its origin with its denomination, from the Salaſſi *Galatæ* of Dio, and Livy's *Gauls* of the Alps; and was, what is a ſingular phœnomenon in the hiſtory of ſuch a people, and carries the origin of horſe-races to a ſingular antiquity in Europe, a kind of *Newmarket* to them, a town encircled by plains for horſe-racing, a town inhabited by *jockies* for managing and training the horſes[z].

On theſe plains the Salluvii, Sallyi, Salyes, or Salaſſi had ſettled originally, on their migration acroſs the Alps. They ſettled, ſays Livy, "*near* that an-

[y] Pliny iii. 17. "Eporedicas Galli bonos equorum domitores "vocant."

[z] "*Rheda* among the Gauls, ſaith Quintilian, is a word of the "ſame ſignification as *Caruca* (i. e. a chariot) among the Latins. "This word is not now to be found in the Britiſh tongue; but it "is apparent that it hath been in it, by the words at this day "uſed, *Rhediad* a courſe, Rhedec [Rhedeg] to run, and *Redecſa* "a race. For that all theſe came originally from *Rheda*," rather, from the ſame radical idea and word as *Rheda*, "is beyond diſ-"pute" (Camden in Gibſon c. xxiv). Of the ſame family is the Iriſh *Ridire* a horſeman, a knight, which, in *too* great partiality to our language, the Iriſh lexicographers derive from our Engliſh *Rider*; though the Welſh words above, and the Iriſh *Rith* a courſe, a flight, *Rithim* to run, *Rioth* running, racing, *Riothadh*, *Riothaim*, *Reathaim*, to run, to race, by the general analogy of the Welſh and Iriſh, ſhow it and our Engliſh word to be both Celtick in their origin. "*Eporedix*," ſays Bullet ii, 545, "bon dreſ-"ſeur de cheval. Pline—nous a conſervé ce mot Gaulois—: *Ep*, "cheval, *Redya*, dompter, dreſſer;" rather *rhedeg*, or ſome ſuch word, to ride, to run, to race, a horſe.

"tient nation the Lævi Ligures[a]," who were the ſame with the Libui or Libyci, and owned the ſite of *Vercelli*[b], the *next* ſtage from Ivrea in the Itinerary. From theſe plains they proceeded to the Lævi Ligures on the ſouth, conquered them, and built Vercelli[c]. From theſe plains too they mounted backwards up the Alps, and ſpread themſelves by Aoſta to Great St. Bernard and Orzieres. But though on theſe plains, and all up the Alps, they retained their national appellation as faithfully, as the Lævi themſelves did; yet among theſe Ligures to the ſouth they ſoon loſt it, and their name of Sallyi was ſunk in that of Libui Galli[d]. The Salaſſi therefore were conſidered as equally diſtinct ſtill from the Libui, as ever they had been; and their poſſeſſions were reputed, *not* to extend to Vercelli. Hannibal was now at the limit of their poſſeſſions to the ſouth; and muſt have entered immediately upon their independent colony of Libui Galli at Vercelli, if he had kept on the road which he had hitherto purſued from Martigny. But his object was TURIN to the right. A road actually appears in the Tables, running from Ivrea to Turin[e]. A road equally appears there at preſent[f]. And this road muſt have been, as it now is,

[a] Livy v. 35. "Propè antiquam gentem, Lævos Ligures."
[b] Pliny iii. 17. "Vercellæ Libycorum."
[c] Pliny ibid. "Vercellæ Libycorum, ex Sallyis ortæ."
[d] Livy xxi. 38. "Per montanos Salaſſos ad Libuos Gallos."
[e] Second Segment.
[f] Map of Savoy, Piedmont, and Montferrat, in maps for Mod. Un. Hiſtory.

a principal

a principal one; ever ſince Turin extended its authority, as I have ſhown it once did, and as it now does, up to the very ſummit of Great St. Bernard[g]. This Hannibal was at preſent to purſue. He accordingly croſſed the Doria, left the region of the Salaſſi, and entered the immediate country of the Taurini. This was *then* the region probably, which is now confined by the Doria on the eaſt, the Po on the ſouth, and the Chiſon on the weſt[h]. The Taurini were thus, as Polybius ſtates them to be, "at "the foot of the Alps[i]." Pliny ſpeaks accordingly of Turin itſelf, as equally with Aoſta "at the roots "of the Alps[k]." But how is it, that two ſuch diſtant towns ſhould have the ſame poſition; and that, after our long march with Hannibal from Aoſta, out of the mountains, into the plane country, and to the very banks of the Po, we are ſtill at the roots of the Alps? The fact is, as both Pliny and Strabo have obſerved; that the Alps form a kind of creſcent or bay along the north of Italy, that Turin lies under the weſtern horn or promontory of it, and that Aoſta lies deep in the hollow[l].

Theſe

[g] See vol. i. chap. iv. ſect. 7, vol. ii. chap. i. ſect. 1, and Bourrit iii. 263, "ſur la route de Turin" from Aoſta.

[h] See map. Hence "Finis" or *Feneſtrelle* on the Chiſon, as the boundary at once of the Taurini, the Alps, and Italy!

[i] Polybius iii. 60. Των Ταυρινων, οι τυγχανουσι προς τη παρωρειᾳ καλοικουντες.

[k] Pliny iii. 17. "Coloniæ ab Alpium radicibus, Auguſta "Taurinorum,—dein Salaſſorum Auguſta Prætoria."

[l] Pliny iii. 5. "Alpium penè lunatis jugis;" Strabo ii. 190.

Theſe Taurini, as Polybius informs us, "were "then in a rebellion againſt the Inſubres[m]." Livy alſo adds, that "they were in a ſtate of warfare," though he forgets to notice the *rebellious* nature of the warfare, "againſt them[n]." For this reaſon, as I have formerly obſerved, Polybius in another place mentions Hannibal, "*when* he had finiſhed his paſ- "ſage over the Alps in fifteen days, to have *advanced* "*boldly* into *the plains upon the Po* and *the country of* "*the Inſubres*[o]."

Theſe Taurini were likewiſe, as Polybius goes on to tell us, "diſtruſtful of the Carthaginians[p]." They might well be ſo. Their king Magalus, whom they had depoſed, had gone to meet the Carthaginians in Gaule, and was come with them now. "Hannibal at "firſt," and during the repoſe of his army at Aoſta, had "endeavoured to draw them into amity with

Των δε Αλπεων περιφερη περιειλων γραμμην, το μεν κυρτον εστραπται προς τα —των Κελτων πεδια, —το δε κοιλον προς την Λιγυστικην και την Ιταλιαν. Strabo v. 323. Τῶν μεν Αλπεων περιφερης η υπωρεια εστι και κολπωδης, τα κοιλα εχουσα εστραμμενα προς την Ιταλιαν· τα δε κολπα τα μεν μεσα, προς ταις Σαλασσαις εστι.

[m] Polybius iii. 60. Των Ταυρινων —στασιαζοντων μεν προς τους Ισομβρας.

[n] Livy xxi. 39. "Taurinis, proximæ genti, adverſus Inſubres "motum bellum erat."

[o] Polybius iii. 56. Ποιησαμενος την των Αλπεων υπερβολην ημεραις πεντεκαιδεκα, καθηρε τολμηρως εις τα περι τον Παδον πεδια, και το των Ισομβρων εθνος.

[p] Polybius iii. 60. Απιστουντων δε τοις Καρχηδονιοις,

"him,

" him, and an alliance againſt the Romans[q]." But he found his overtures rejected, as " they would not " agree to this[r]. The reſtoration of their exiled monarch, and their own ſubmiſſion to the authority of the Inſubres, were the neceſſary conditions of ſuch an amity and ſuch an alliance. He therefore marched to reduce thoſe by violence, whom he could not bring over by ſolicitations. " He moved out of " his camp of reſt," Livy ſays; " and one town of " the Taurini, the CAPITAL of the nation, becauſe " they would not come into the propoſed amity with " him, he took by ſtorm; and would have aſſociated " all the Gauls along the Po to him, not merely " through fear, but alſo with their own good-will," if the Roman army under Scipio had not been now coming up[s]. " He encamped around their GREAT- " EST city," we learn from Polybius, " and in *three* " days took it by ſtorm. And, *having put his op-* " *ponents to the ſword*, he ſtruck ſuch a terrour into " the neighbouring Barbarians, that they all came to " him immediately, and reſigned themſelves up to

[q] Livy xxi. 39. " Armare exercitum, ut parti alteri [the In- " ſubres or the Taurini] auxilio eſſet, *in reficiendo*—non poterat," compared with Polybius iii. 60, το μεν πρωτον εις φιλιαν προκαλεισθαι και συμμαχιαν.

[r] Polybius iii. 60. Ουχ' υπακουσαντων.

[s] Livy xxi. 39. " Jam ex ſtativis moverat Hannibal; Tauri- " norumque unam urbem, caput gentis ejus, quia volentis in " amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnârat; junxiſſetque ſibi, non " metu ſolùm, ſed etiam voluntate, Gallos accolas Padi, ni" &c.

" his

"his will[t]." By that act of severity in putting all the garrison to the sword, "he struck such a terrour," not "into the neighbouring Barbarians,"

[t] Polybius iii. 60. Περιστρατοπεδευσας την Βαρυτατην πολιν, εν τρισιν ημεραις εξεπολιορκησε. Κατασφαξας δε τους εναντιωθεντας αυτῳ, τοιουτον ενειργασατο φοβον τοις συνεγγυς κατοικουσι των Βαρβαρων, ωστε παντας εκ χειρος παραγινεσθαι, διδοντας αυτους εις την πιστιν.

"He," *first*, το μεν πρωτον, "invited the Taurinians," the Taurini, "who lived *near* the foot of the Alps," προς τῃ παρωρειᾳ, *at* the foot of the Alps, "and were at this time engaged in [rebellious] war with the Insubrians," the Insubres, [and distrusted the Carthaginians, απιστουντων δε τοις Καρχηδονιοις], "to enter into "an alliance with him, and to assist him with their forces," in the language of Polybius, *to enter into amity and alliance with him.* "And when his offers were rejected by them, he *marched*," a word, that shows the necessity of inserting *first* before, "and incamped before the *strongest*," the most important, Βαρυτατην, "of their cities; and having *taken* it," having *taken it by storm*, εξεπολιορκησε, "after three days siege; killed all that *were found in* "*arms against him*," all that *had been* in arms against him, τους εναντιωθεντας αυτῳ, or (which is the same here) all the inhabitants. "By this severity, the neighbouring barbarians were all struck "with terror, and [all immediately, παντας εκ χειρος], submitted "at discretion," in Polybius's language, which should have been retained, *came and resigned themselves up to his will.*

On the whole, this version of Polybius apparently deserves not the reputation which it bears. It was executed many years, before it was published (preface 24—25), and at a period, I believe, when Mr. Hampton was *very young*; before time had matured his judgment, and experience had raised his language, into that vigour and mellowness which appear in his excellent preface; and when he was grown too indolent to reform the whole, by that just model which he has there drawn; "to render every word by "an equivalent expression, and every sentence in the same just "measure, to preserve each different character of sentiment and "phrase, and to delineate, stroke by stroke, the movements of "the mind or heart" (p. 23); a model, that is now a severe satire upon the execution.

who,

who, as *Gauls*, muſt have been highly gratified with the blow; but into all *the ſubject Taurini*, who alone could be terrified by it, and who were not Gauls but Ligurians[v]; "that they came to him immediately," ſubmitted to his arms, "and reſigned themſelves up "to his will." He thus reſtored Magalus, to his previous authority over the Taurini; and ſecured all the aſſiſtance, that Magalus could furniſh to the Carthaginians in their future war. The Taurini therefore are ſuch "of the" mis-called "*Gauls* along the "Po," as Livy ſays Hannibal "would have aſſo-"ciated to him—through *fear*," if the Romans had not been coming; and whom he *actually* aſſociated, as we ſee in Polybius, by that the moſt binding of all principles in the human mind. The other, the *real*, "Gauls along the Po," whom (according to Livy again) he "would have aſſociated to him—with "*their own good-will*," if the Romans had not been coming; were the INSUBRES and the BOII, who had ſent embaſſadours to him, who had *then* avowed themſelves "eager to ſhare with the Carthaginians "in their battles with the Romans[w]," and were now reſtrained from executing their intentions by the Roman advance. With ſo much confuſion in circumſtances, do both Polybius and Livy conclude their account of Hannibal's Alpine march! The

[v] Pliny iii. 17. "Taurinorum antiquâ Ligurum ſtirpe."

[w] Polybius iii. 44. Των ανδρων η προθυμια, μεθ' ων μελλωσι ποιεισθαι τους αγωνας προς τας των Ρωμαιων δυναμεις.

Roman

Romans advanced, but were beaten; and the Boii, the Inſubres, made a general inſurrection in favour of Hannibal [x].

I have thus conducted Hannibal from Lauriol on the Rhone in Dauphiny, to Turin on the Po in Piedmont. I have taken him ſtage by ſtage, and ſtep by ſtep, through this long labyrinth of nations; as the concurring narratives of Polybius and of Livy, have held out the clue. Geography has united with hiſtory, the preſent nature of the ground with the antient deſcriptions of the ſites, and the Itinerary of Rome with the traditions of the Romans, to confirm *their* narrative and *my* account. I have pointed out alſo the grand reaſons, that actuated the mind of Hannibal, and directed the movements of the Carthaginians under him. I have thus thrown a new and ſtrong light, I preſume, upon this important portion of hiſtory. I have particularly fixed the line in which he croſſed the Alps, for the *firſt* time in a *ſingle* part of his courſe, and for the *laſt*, I truſt, in *every* part of it. One part indeed comes in to ſupport another; while all form ſuch an accumulative ſeries of proofs, as no other kind of argument can poſſibly boaſt, and as raiſes this (I flatter myſelf) into a ſuperlative ſort of demonſtration. Evidence

[x] Polybius iii. 66.

has been ſucceſſively added to evidence, like hill piled upon hill, till the whole (I think) has riſen into a mountain like its own St. Bernard; towering with its head over the hiſtory, as that does over the globe; leaving all the clouds at its feet, and ſhowing the ſunſhine in a burſt of radiance upon its ſides.

THE END.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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Page

6. note, line 7. *for* τραπλοπιδη *read* τραλοπιδης
7. note, line 7. *for* l'ancien *read* l'ancienne.
11. text, line 8. *for* LAURIOL, again *read* LAURIOL again.
15, note, line 6. *for* συνλομος διὰ συνοσιων *read* συνλομος διὰ Ουνοσιων.
——— line 7, *for* λιγυστικις *read* Λιγυστικις.
——— line 10, *for* Αγλιπολιν *read* Αγλιπολιν.
——— line 11, *for* Ουγγερνα *read* Ουγερνα.
25, note, line 9-10, *for* επιρθισεως *read* υπιρθισεως.
39, note, line 12, *for* διαβασσεως *read* διαβασεως.
40, note, line 4, *for* αποκορυφεσιν *read* αποκορυφισιν.
54, note, line last, *for* menti *read* monti.
61, note, line last, *for* τουων *read* τουτων.
86, text, line 12, *for* from Lyons *read* from some point he knows not what near St. Rambert, a few miles to the south of *Vienne*, and many to the south of *Lyons*.
94, note, line 11, *for* Lyon *read* Nyon.
96, text, line 8, *for* Lyon *read* Lyons.
97, note, line last and last but one, *dele* among the Greeks.
107, note, line 2 and 3, *dele* and, *then subjoin to* Scotland, and we have *Ocelum* on the Alps before.
131, text, line 7, *for* appropriated hereafter *read* appropriated before and hereafter.
150, note, line 2, *for* ηδοαλοι *read* Μηδοαλοι.
156, note, line 4, *for* Χουων *read* Χιουων.
189, note, line last, *for* im *read* in.
190, note, line 11, *to* since *add thus*. This castle was called La Bathia (Coxe i. 391, Saussure iv. 316); and has lent its name, I find from private information, to its part of the town of Bourg.

196, text, line 16, *for* Paritii *read* Parisii.

209, note, line 2, *for* ευευκινητοτατων πεξων *read* ευκινητοτατων πεζων.

210, note, line 6, *should run thus*, Saussure iv. 288-289. "Les "rochers sont escarpés au-dessus de la rive *droite* du "torrent," in coming *down* the Alps, "mais eboulés "sur la *gauche* que nous suivons." Afterwards, "on "*traverse* la Drance, et on passe *au pied de ces ro-* "*chers*." This shews the *ascent*, to be immediately on the *left* of the Drance; and so supersedes the testimony of a neighbouring gentleman, who in a letter of reply to my inquiries has asserted it, to be on the right. "La route, large et bien entretenue."

— note, line 9, *for* pie *read* pic.

211, note, line 17, *read thus* mile, something short of an English one (Misson, preface xxxviii. and ii. 2).

225, note, line last, *for* Tapidis *read* Japidis.

236, note, line 4, *read thus* reality; and some private information, which I have received in a letter from the Vallais, confirms both.

243, note, line 13, *for* Βαρβαρον *read* Βαρβαρων.

246, note, line 3, *for* in *read* is.

258, note, line 6, *read thus* incedebat." This account is very lively, doing honour equally to Hannibal and to Livy.

AD-

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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1, text, line 3, *for* on *read* upon.

9, note, line 18, *for* απεκλειν *read* απεκλεινε.

12, note, line 5, *read thus* ſunt." Livy alſo, in Epitome LXI, calls thoſe Gauls of Marſeilles Salluvii.

79, note, line 3, *for* ταυρον *read* ταυριον.

86, note, line 1 and 2. *read thus only* Simler ſelects Mount Genévre.

———, line 10, *read thus* P. 220. But Keyſler, in a reference to oral authority, ſelects another hill. "On "the left hand," he ſays, "betwixt Fertiere and No- "valeſe," in the *deſcent* from Mount Cenis towards Italy, about *one league and a half only from Suſa*, equally with Feneſtrelles within modern Italy, and not much higher up the Alps than M. Dutens's own hill; "is the mountain of Rochemelon," ſo called, I ſuppoſe, as the melon-ſhaped rock, "accounted "the higheſt of all the *Italian* Alps. From hence it "ſeems to join with the great chain of mountains; "but *a deep valley lies between*. The aſcent up this "mountain is *a day's journey*——. After all the toil "of getting up *this prodigious acclivity*, one may hap- "pen to come there at an unlucky time, and *be obliged* "*to wait for fair weather* to *come down again*; but, "in a *clear* ſky, the toil muſt be acknowledged to be "well rewarded, by an aſtoniſhing proſpect——. "*Some* have imagined *this* to be the mountain, from "whence Hannibal encouraged his army by a *view* "of the *ſplendour* and *fertility* of Italy." They, who have ſo "imagined," muſt have conſulted no other faculty of their mind except their *imagination*. Even

if Hannibal *had* croſſed Mount Cenis, he muſt have gone *a whole day's march out of his road* with all his army, to have the *chance* of "a clear ſky" in *the end of October*, to encounter the certainty of "an un-"lucky time," and then "be obliged to wait for fair "weather to come down again." Such Hannibals does an un-hiſtorical mind form for itſelf! "Maſs is-"annually ſaid at this place, on the 5th of Auguſt. "Thouſands of people repair thither from the neigh-"bourhood, —— climbing over *ice and ſnow*" on *the 5th of Auguſt*; when Hannibal muſt have gone thither on this lunatick employ, at *the very end of October*. See Keyſler i. 237, 236, 238. Keyſler often nods in his *travelling waggon* of Germany, but is faſt aſleep here.

88, text, line 16, *read thus* mouth of the Po.[a] But the &c. *then ſubjoin this note* [a]. Keyſler accordingly gives us from his hill, "an aſtoniſhing proſpect over the *Mi-"laneſe*," the "*Trevigiana*," and "*Venice*" (i. 237).

118, text, line 8, *read thus* below [t]. It is in fact very ſteep and very narrow, I find from private information, having its precipice for the firſt mile from St. Bernard upon the *left*, and then as far as St. Remy on the *right*. It was thus a mere pathway along the ſide.

120, note, laſt line, *for* "ò nous" *read* "où nous."

150, note, laſt line, *read thus* paroxyſm? I ſuppoſe it certainly would; and I recommend the trial of it to ſome young phyſician. Succeſs with it would eſtabliſh his reputation for ever.

185, note, line 2, *for* Tapodes *read* Japodes.

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